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THE RÔLES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN ESKIMO CULTURE

By

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INTRODUCTION

"The first fundamental division within the social life is that which is a result of sex,"[1] certain activities being performed by one sex, the other being wholely or in part excluded from their practice. While we commonly think of this divergence as relating to the economic sphere, these differences are carried over into every phase of the life of the group, so that we find the men and the women in the same locality to be living very different lives.

It is the purpose of this study to ascertain, in so far as possible, these differences in the lives of men and of women for one of the primitive groups, namely, the Eskimo. While these people cover a great range of territory, occupying, in fact, the Arctic lands of the entire western hemisphere,[2] a study of their culture reveals the fact that they are surprisingly similar both with regard to customs[3] and language.[4] Eskimo from the east coast of Hudson Bay can understand and can communicate without difficulty with those of the Mackenzie River district, some thousand miles of coastline apart,[5] and "distinction between

[1] Birket-Smith, I, 257. [2] Gilbertson, p. 7.

[3] Boas, VII, 1; III, 362, 363; Dall, IV, 121; Kotzebue, Vol. 3, p. 313; J. A. Mason, p. 249; Murdoch, V, 325; Nansen, I, 58; II, Vol. 2, p. 255; Rink, III, 5; Steensby, I, 43.

[4] Gilbertson, p. 7; Low, p. 133; Murdoch, III, 37; Nansen, I, 5; Richardson, p. 148; Rink, III, 13, 14; Seward, p. 40; Osborn, p. 197; Steensby, I, 43, 44, 155; Thalbitzer, IV, 45.

[5] Rae, p. 151.

West and East Eskimo is quite artificial, or practically of a geographic nature."[1]

The prevailing conformity is due, in part, to the economic life of the people which necessitates seasonal migrations,[2] which bring them into contact with many groups in the course of the year,[3] although they may not properly be termed nomadic[4] since they usually winter in the same place.[5] Much intermarriage takes place,[6] and customs of adoption and fear of blood vengeance also are causes of individuals entering strange tribes.[7] These shiftings make for dissemination of culture traits especially, since etiquette demands that when an Inuit stranger comes into a group an effort shall be made to conform as closely as possible to the manners of the section from which he comes.[8]

Trade is a recognized medium for exchange of culture traits, and though relatively limited among the Eskimo it has been a constant factor,[9] especially be-

[1] Steensby, I, 45.

[2] Collinson, I, 199; Birket-Smith, III, 187 (Gr.); Peary, II, 42.

[3] Stefánsson, III, 284.

[4] Rink, III, 9. (W.Gr.).

[5] Kohlmeister and Kmoch, p. 5.

[6] Barnum, p. 8 (A.); Bilby, p. 62; Boas, I, 462; Gilder, p. 207; Birket-Smith, II, 16, 17. (Egd.); Jenness, III, 86 (Cop.); Nelson, I, 25 (B. St.); Rasmussen, III, 23 (Gr.).

[7] Boas, I, 466; Jenness, IX, 83, 89. [8] Hall, I, 5.70

[9] Bilby, p. 63; Birket-Smith, III, 166 (Gr.); Birket-Smith, quoting Dalinger; II, 82; Boas, II, 109; Frobisher, p. 283; Jenness, II, 94 (A.); Kohlmeister and Kmoch, p. 47; Rink, III, 11 (W. Gr.); Stefánsson, III, 215, 216, 264; J. Simpson, p. 267 (A.); Jenness, IX, 83.

tween the tribes bordering on Bering Strait.[1] Each tribe may be said to be a connecting link between its neighbors on either side,[2] though the so-called "tribes of the Eskimo do not function as political units[3] except in some parts of Alaska where "presumably on account of Indian influence they present the characteristics of true tribes."[4] The similarity of their habitat throughout the territory[5] and their isolation from other groups except in the western district,[6] have contributed also to maintain the general conformity.[7] It is in the Alaskan region too that we find the most widely divergent culture traits, their complexity increasing with progress westward[8] until, on the Asiatic shore, while most of the investigators identify the maritime population there with the American natives,[9] some few assert that they have been absorbed by the Chuckchee,[10] one states that they are inter-

[1] Petitot, IV, 13, 14; Stefánsson, VI, 173 (Pt. B.); V, 2, 3; C. L. Hooper, pp. 8, 37, 39; Gordon, I, 235 (A.); Dease and Simpson, pp. 216, 218; Dall, I, 144, 147 (A.); Collinson, I, 197; Hoffman, p. 756; Dall, II, p. 569; Von Wrangell, pp. 110, 111; Muir, p. 66; T. Simpson, p. 161; Steensby, I, 46; Hawkes, IV, 208, 204; Murdoch, V, 327; Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, pp. 250, 14; Whymper, II, 249; Stockton, p. 186; Whymper, I, 169.

[2] Boas, I, 462.

[3] Birket-Smith, II, 37; I, 59.

[4] Steensby, I, 155.

[5] Ashe, p. 24; Boas, II, 107.

[6] Boas, III, 355.

[7] Ashe, p. 24.

[8] Elliott, I, 21; Dall, V, 7.

[9] Wissler, p. 161; Czaplicka, p. 18; Rosse, p. 174; J. A. Mason, p. 248; Kotzebue, Vol. 1, pp. 252, 312; Kennan, p. 321; Kelly, p. 8; Jockelson, p. 62; Jenness, I, 78; Hawkes, IV, 208; Dall, II, 569; Collinson, II, 419; Bogoras, I, 11, 191; Bancroft, Vol. 1, p. 41; Dall, III, 13; IV, 121; Steensby, I, 44.

[10] Aldrich, p. 42; C. L. Hooper, p. 99.

mediary,[1] two express uncertainty,[2] while there is one instance of an assertion that Chuckchee are to be found on the American side.[3]

Many excellent monographs of Eskimo life are available, and it was from these that the greater part of the material on the subject was secured. Observations of early explorers and travelers were carefully read, and some of them found to contain interesting insights into the lives of the people since "the literature on the Eskimo is perhaps . . . . more trustworthy than that on most of the other North American aborigines, as the geographical location and climatic conditions of their habitat have prevented the influx of the 'summer vacation' type, hence there is not such an abundance of mere travelers' tales."[4]

[1] Hamy, p. 514.

[2] W. H. Hooper, p. 40; Wrangell, p. 121.

[3] Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, pp. 231, 232.

[4] Gilbertson, p. 5.

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

In the footnotes, the Roman numeral following the author's name refers to the publication with the corresponding numeral listed in the bibliography under the author's name.

Whenever the particular locality to which an author refers is significant, and is not fully indicated by the title of the publication quoted though evident from the context, it is designated by means of the following abbreviations.

A.	Alaska
A.H.	Arctic Highlands
Ang.	Angmagsalik
B.G.	Barren Grounds
Baf.L.	Baffin Land
B.L.	Baker Lake
B.St.	Bering Strait
C.	Central Eskimo
C.E.	Caribou Eskimo
C.F.	Cape Felix
Ch.	Churchill
Ch.In.	Chesterfield Inlet
C.G.	Coronation Gulf
Cop.	Copper Eskimo
C.R.	Colville River
C.Y.	Cape York
C.Sd.	Cumberland Sound
D.Gr.	Danish Greenland
D.I.	Danish Island
D.St.	Davis Strait
E.G.	East Greenland
Egd.	Egedesminde
E.H.B.	East Hudson Bay
Et.	Etah
Gr.	Greenland
H.B.	Hudson Bay
H.St.	Hudson Strait
Ig.	Igloolik
K.W.L.	King William Land
Lab.	Labrador
L.I.	Lyon Inlet
Mac.	Mackenzie Region
M.N.P.	Magnetic North Pole
Net.	Netchilli
N.Lab.	North Labrador
P.	Polar Esk.
Pt.B.	Point Barrow
R.B.	Repulse Bay
S.	Siberia
S.Is.	Southampton Island
Sav.Is.	Savage Island
S.G.	South Greenland
S.S.	Smith Sound
S.St.	Simpson Strait
St.L.Is.	St. Lawrence Island
T.	Thule District
U.	Ungava
Vic.Is.	Victoria Island
West.	Western Eskimo
W.Gr.	West Greenland
W.Is.	Winter Island
W.H.B.	West Hudson Bay

CHAPTER I

PROCURING OF FOOD

Since the diet of the Eskimo consists very largely, in fact, in some localities and in some seasons, almost exclusively of animal food,[1] we shall first consider the share of each sex in the pursuit of game. The procuring of land animals and the larger sea mammals, such as the whale, the seal, the walrus, and the narwhal, will for the sake of convenience be considered under the head of "hunting," while the term "fishing" will be used in its ordinary sense.

The Eskimo men are the hunters,[2] and since it is by means of the chase that sustenance, clothing, and fuel are procured,[3] it is easily understood why male children are highly prized[4] while girls, who are con-

[1] Saabye, p. 14 (Gr.); Moore, p. 352 (St.L.Is.); Krulish, p. 6 (A.); Steensby, I, 62; Kroeber, p. 269 (S.S.); MacMillan, I, 139 (Et.).

[2] Birket-Smith, III, 187 (Gr.); Gordon, I, 215 (A.); Mathiassen, p. 210 (Ig.); Walsh, p. 84; Thalbitzer, III, 397 (E.Gr.); Stupart, p. 103 (Lab.); Steensby, II, 282 (Gr.); I, 92; J. Simpson, p. 261; Scoresby, p. 212; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 244 (S.St.); Birket-Smith, II, 392 (Egd.); Dall, I, 139 (A.); Hall, I, 376–77; Hall, II, 88–89 (R.B.); Hanbury, 69–70 (B.L.); Holm, pp. 48–49 (Ang.); C. L. Hooper, p. 264; Hutton, p. 225 (Lab.); Ray, p. 40 (Pt. B.); Jenness, III, 16, 87, 163 (Cop.); VII, 105–10; Lyons, II, 186 (Ig.); Murdoch, IV, 12, 13 (Pt.B.); Nelson, I, 120 (B. St.); Packard, I, 73 (Lab.); Parry, Vol. 1, p. 259 (W.Is.); Rasmussen, II, 15 (Gr.); Richardson, p. 156 (Mac), p. 188; Rink, I, 240 (Gr.); Ross, I, 167; J. Simpson, pp. 261–62; Steensby, II, 304 (Gr.).

[3] Low, p. 141.

[4] Jenness, III, 42; Payne, p. 224; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 312; Ross, I, 333; Stefánsson, I, 371–72; Rasmussen, I, 226; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 219; Nansen, I, 135–36; Leslie, p. 305; Graah, p. 135; Dall, I, 139.

sidered to some extent as "unproductive consumers,"[1] are often killed at birth.[2]

The tremendous importance of hunting as a manly duty is shown by the following facts: The education of the Eskimo boy is centered around his career as a future hunter;[3] the first large animal captured by him is made the subject of certain ceremonial observances,[4] and his status as an adult male[5] together with the right to marry[6] dates from this time. Successful hunters are held in high esteem by other members of the community.[7] Hunting scenes are the most common subjects of Eskimo art,[8] and the representation of the female figure does not appear in these.[9] The man unable to hunt was held in the greatest contempt,[10] on the west coast of Greenland it being the custom that "a man may be challenged to a drum-match because of failure as a hunter, from whatever cause."[11] A young Greenlander, whose mother would

[1] Rasmussen, I, 225.

[2] Turquetil, p. 422; Rasmussen, I, 245–46, 226; Nelson, I, 289; Kumlien, pp. 15, 16; Hall, II, 408; Jenness, III, 166; Dall, I, 139; Gilder, p. 247.

[3] Hansen, p. 159; Bilby, p. 144; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 150; Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 227.

[4] Jenness, III, 158; Bilby, p. 145; Birket-Smith, I, 292; Boas, III, 161; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 150; Graah, p. 118; Rink, I, 221; Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 227; Stefánsson, VI, 174; Thalbitzer, I, 501; Sutherland, Vol. 1, p. 114.

[5] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 150; Birket-Smith, II, 422; Steensby, II, 347.

[6] Whitney, p. 400; Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 432; Holm, p. 58.

[7] Stupart, p. 105; Scoresby, p. 212.

[8] J. A. Mason, p. 254; Jenness, IV, 170. [9] Hoffman, p. 848.

[10] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 151; Gilbertson, p. 70; Rink, pp. 31, 32.

[11] Holm, p. 127.

not let him learn to manage a kayak, waited on the others like a servant,[1] while men suffering from physical disability commonly share the work of the women.[2]

Though there are occasional instances of women engaging in procuring animals on land or ice,[3] they are no doubt exceptional. In one case in which two young women went sealing together leaving their husbands to mind the huts, "they often taunted the men with this afterward,"[4] showing that it was not a usual procedure. On Cockburn Island, north of Igloolik, we find the young women "amusing themselves" by watching the seal holes and frequently killing these animals.[5]

The specialized hunting activity carried on in the open water by means of boats is entitled to separate notice, as being peculiarly the man's sphere of activity.[6] According to Rink, "It might be considered a law that every man, as far as he was able to do it, should practice the trade of a hunter on the sea. . . . ."[7]

Hunting by means of the kayak is perhaps more definitely a man's work than any other,[8] for, of the cases

[1] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 151, footnote. [2] Boas, I, 580.

[3] Flaherty, p. 62; Bilby, p. 103; Dall, I, 139 (A.); VI, 5; Hall, I, 506; Jenness, VII, 116; Mutch, p. 498; Packard, p. 266 (Lab.); Hall, II, 156 (R.B.); Stefánsson, IV, 138 (C.G.); Holm, p. 53; Graah, p. 118 (E.G.).

[4] Jenness, III, 88. [5] Lyons, II, 434.

[6] Bogoras, I, 550; MacMillan, I, 188; Thalbitzer, III, 524.

[7] Rink, III, 31.

[8] Jenness, III, 88; Murdoch, I, 331; Nelsen, I, 29; Turner, I, 203.

of women indulging in it, one for the Kidlngmiut[1] was reported by a neighboring tribe, the investigator not having any proof of its truth; another for the Akorninarmiut states that only two young women were capable of the exercise,[2] while two girls at Imarsivik had learned to manage the kayak because of a dearth of men in the community.[3] There is reason to believe that the use of this boat in any way was the man's prerogative,[4] although Baffin reports that "everyone, both man and woman has each of them a boate. . . . . In these boats they catch the most part of their food."[5]

The umiak, or so-called "women's boat," though customarily rowed by women when the seasonal migrations were in progress,[6] had their crews made up of men if possible when on hunting expeditions.[7] When there were not sufficient men available, however, women were used as rowers on these trips,[8] their assistance in the hunt, however, being limited to transporting of the boat.[9] When rowing the umiak the men use a paddle rather than an oar as the women

[1] Boas, III, 470. [2] Holm, p. 46. [3] Nansen, I, 124–25.

[4] Stefánsson, VI, 81; Murdoch, I, 331; Jenness, III, 88; Thalbitzer, III, 381; Hanbury, p. 3; Franklin, II, 100; Egede, p. 109; J. A. Mason, p. 269.

[5] Baffin, II, 35, 36 (Gr.).

[6] Boas, I, 575.

[7] Thalbitzer, III, 379; Birket-Smith, II, 258; Porsild, p. 145; Hawkes, III, 69; Birket-Smith, III, 178; Thalbitzer, III, 397.

[8] Egede, p. 111; Murdoch, I, 335; Ray, p. 39; Jenness, IV, 165; A. J. Mason, p. 271.

[9] Jenness, IV, 165.

do,[1] and even face in the opposite direction.[2] The fact that the oar used by the women is clumsy[3] and its noise may frighten the prey[4] makes rowing by men when on hunting trips more desirable.[5] The use of the paddle also requires the greater skill.[6]

The caribou hunt finds the women very often employed as assistants to the hunters. At such times, the women, often accompanied by children, surround the deer and drive them toward the narrow defile where the men lie in ambush ready to shoot them.[7] This practice obtains in practically the entire Eskimo territory, with the exception of the Polar region where the men stalk the animals.[8] The wives and children of the hunters almost invariably accompany them on these seasonal excursions,[9] though not always actually assisting in the hunt itself. The duties of the women on these expeditions, caring for food, skins, etc., will be discussed each in its appropriate place.

[1] Egede, p. 111; Steensby, I, 92 (quoting Glahn); Boas, I, 499; Birket-Smith, III, 178; Murdoch, I, 335; C. L. Hooper, p. 102; A. J. Mason, p. 271.

[2] Egede, p. 111; Steensby, I, 92.

[3] Bilby, p. 117.

[4] Birket-Smith, II, 258.

[5] Boas, I, 499.

[6] C. L. Hooper, p. 102; I. J. Hayes, p. 32.

[7] Bilby, pp. 244 45; Murdoch, I, 265; Stefánsson, VI, 58; Birket-Smith, II, 347 48; Egede, pp. 61 62; Jenness, III, 136, 149 50; Rasmussen, I, 74; Thalbitzer, III, 405; Jenness, VII, 159–60; Saabye, p. 33.

[8] Steensby, II, 304.

[9] Hall, I, 224; Hall, II, 280; Jenness, VII, 166, 167; Rasmussen, I, 143–44; Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 226; Rink, I, 272; Kumlien, pp. 17, 18, 19; Rasmussen, II, 56; Turner, I, 207.

When the hunter is engaged in sealing from the ice, his wife may hold the line attached to his spear.[1] If the seal is driven ashore by the hunter, she helps in its capture,[2] or women and children may be stationed at the various breathing holes;[3] but it is only occasionally that the women are present,[4] usually they accompany the hunters on the expedition[5] but are left in charge of the dwelling.[6]

Women's magical performances, with the purpose of insuring good luck to the men in the hunt, are important among the Eskimo.[7] A common ceremony is that of the wife of a hunter placing a piece of blubber on his kayak when he departs.[8] Bears are thought to be especially susceptible to charms, and certain measures must be taken by the wife to insure pleasing the spirit of the Polar bear, so that more of the same species may be taken.[9]

We conclude then that though women may be of assistance to the men and though they may, through caprice or dire necessity, engage in the pursuit of the

[1] Smith, p. 215.

[2] Gilder, p. 169; Nansen, I, 124; Saabye, p. 26; Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 143–44.

[3] Boas, I, 485.

[4] Mutch, p. 491; Hall, I, 213; Jenness, VII, 201, 93. [5] Packard, II, 275.

[6] Jenness, III, 127, 16; Payne, 214; Hall, I, 265; Hall, II, 591; Jenness, VII, 105, 225; Mikkelsen, I, 224; J. Simpson, p. 261; Parry, Vol. 1, p. 259; Bilby, p. 246; Lyon, II, 186.

[7] Thalbitzer, I, 259, 291; Stefánsson, VI, 182, 327; Jenness, III, 181, 229; Hawkes, III, 134; Hall, II, 103; Boas, III, 499; Birket-Smith, II, 335, 283; Rasmussen, I, 313, 352; Birket-Smith, I, 95.

[8] Kumlien, p. 45; Boas, III, 137–38; I, 596.

[9] Stefánsson, III, 58; Jenness, III, 181.

larger animals, the serious duty of hunting them invariably devolved upon the men.[1]

The less important animals,[2] birds,[3] reindeer fawns,[4] foxes,[5] marmots,[6] squirrels,[7] are often taken by the women, presumably while the men are engaged in the more arduous hunting of big game,[8] though this fact is not always stated. The men often share in this, however,[9] and sometimes hunt these smaller animals unaccompanied by women,[10] especially when it must be done under hazardous conditions,[11] as by employing the kayak.[12] There being relatively little danger involved in setting traps, women may do this with impunity,[13] or it may be taken over by the men if they are not busy otherwise,[14] though for-

[1] Steensby, II, 282; Bilby, p. 144; Holm, p. 59.

[2] Thalbitzer, III, 397.

[3] Birket-Smith, III, 142; Bilby, p. 146; MacMillan, I, 188; Rasmussen, III, 14, 15; MacMillan, II, 162; Franklin, p. 268 (Ch.); Ekblaw, p. 5; Dall, I, 139.

[4] Peary, II, 127; Murdoch, I, 264; Hovey, p. 361; Mathiassen, p. 210; Bancroft, Vol. 1, p. 78; Dall, I, 148.

[5] Ekblaw, p. 5.

[6] Hall, II, 263 (R.B.).

[7] Stefánsson, VI, 267 (C.G.).

[8] Hall, II, 155 (R.B.); Ekblaw, p. 5; MacMillan, I, 188; Rink, III, 248; Steensby, I, 84 (U.).

[9] Nelson, I, 133; Stefánsson, VI, 184 (C.G.); Lyon, II, 257; Rink, III, 224; Murdoch, I, 276; Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 181; Vol. 1, p. 315; Ekblaw, pp. 189, 187, 190, 3.

[10] Bilby, p. 262 (Baf. L.); Ekblaw, p. 6; Jenness, VII, 36 (C.G.); Kane, I, Vol. 2, p. 219 (Et.).

[11] Steensby, II, 283; Ekblaw, p. 6.

[12] Ekblaw, p. 190; Steensby, I, 94 (A.) (Gr.).

[13] Mikkelsen, II, 326. [14] Astrup, p. 100 (S.S.); Steensby, II, 311.

merly it was considered beneath their dignity.[1] The shooting of birds and small animals by boys is considered as training for their later occupation as hunters.[2]

Fishing is of much less consequence in the economic scheme of the Eskimo than hunting.[3] No description of a group in which women do not engage in fishing has been found, though in East Greenland it is usually done by the men.[4] Many cases were found of women fishing unaccompanied by men.[5] In West Greenland small fishing was distinctly woman's work,[6] and oftentimes the men were occupied in hunting while the women engaged in fishing,[7] sometimes assisted by children[8] or by the aged of both sexes.[9]

Obtaining of fish was not confined to the women, however,[10] and men and women often fished together.[11]

[1] Ekblaw, p. 5.

[2] Murdoch, I, 417.

[3] Steensby, I, 93; Bessels, p. 873 (S.S.). [4] Thalbitzer, III, 397.

[5] Rasmussen, I, 12 (D.I.); Jenness, III, 123 (Cop.); Murdoch, I, 266 (Pt.B.); Gilder, p. 64 (W.H.B.); Hearne, p. 182 (Cop.); Hutton, pp. 202, 112 (Lab.); Nansen, I, 124; Ross, I, 275; Stefánsson, VI, 250 (C.G.).

[6] Thalbitzer, III, 397.

[7] Jenness, III, 133 (Cop.); Steensby, II, 292 (Gr.); Townsend, p. 86 (A.); Murdoch, IV, 12, 13 (Pt.B.); Hanbury, pp. 69, 70 (B.L.); Birket-Smith, III, 148 (Gr.); Ekblaw, p. 7 (Gr.); Jenness, VII, 138; Rasmussen, I, 203.

[8] Birket-Smith, I, 135 (C.E.); Jenness, III, 129 (Cop.).

[9] Townsend, p. 86 (A.); Hanbury, p. 156; C. L. Hooper, p. 39; Nelson, I, 174, 175; Munn, p. 271 (Baf.L.).

[10] Elliott, II, 404; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 238 (S.St.); Ross, I, 276; Rasmussen, III, 47 (Gr.); Jenness, III, 99 (Cop.).

[11] Thalbitzer, III, 468, 524 (E.G.); Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, pp. 278, 317; Birket-Smith, II, 366 (Egd.); Nelson, I, 183; Rasmussen, I, 16.

At Iglulik net fishing is always the task of the men, the women using hooks,[1] at Shingle Point near Mackenzie we also find the men using nets,[2] while among the Copper Eskimo the men frighten the fish into weirs where the women catch them in their hands.[3] Another statement for the Copper Eskimo is that the women and children fished near the camp, the men being engaged in like manner at a distance,[4] while on the Asiatic coast each fisherwoman was accompanied by a man who made a hole in the ice for her.[5] At Southampton Island, the men spear salmon,[6] and at Bering Strait the men use seines,[7] while in Labrador the men caught the fish while the women cleaned them.[8] That fishing is not so important an activity for men as for women, however, is shown by the fact that certain ceremonies were performed when a young girl caught her first fish, to secure her future success,[9] and by the statement that "many kaiakers never become seal hunters, but only take to fishing. . . . ."[10]

For men to fish alone while the women were engaged in domestic pursuits[11] was not unknown, and it was "carried on throughout the year by those unable to hunt the seal and caribou."[12] When Amundsen attempted fishing for codlings, the boys thus em-

[1] Mathiassen, p. 210.
[2] Stefánsson, II, 75 (Mac.).
[3] Jenness, III, 156 (Cop.).
[4] *Ibid.*, 142 (Cop.).
[5] Newcomb, p. 417.
[6] Lyon, I, 63.
[7] Nelson, I, 186.
[8] Hutton, p. 253.
[9] Stefánsson, VI, 340.
[10] Rink, I, 173.
[11] Birket-Smith, III, 134 (Gr.).
[12] B. W. M., p. 166 (Cop.).

ployed were amused "as they could not imagine a grown man fishing for codlings of his own free will,"[1] so it seems that fishing is considered somewhat in the way of a preliminary course for the future hunter.[2]

Of the foods collected by the Eskimo, eggs of certain birds are highly prized and are gathered by both men and women,[3] or by the women alone[4] though the men may procure them.[5] In the autumn abundant stores of berries are gathered by the women,[6] who seem to have this department of the economic life entirely to themselves. This is true also of herbs, buds, roots, seeds, and grasses which are taken to form part of the food supply.[7] Seaweed is also gathered by the women.[8]

In Labrador, it is the custom for the first handful of new shoots gathered in the spring to be ceremonially burnt,[9] while it is reported for Kotzebue Sound that the first bag of berries or roots picked up by a girl was subject to the same ceremonies as an animal killed by a boy.[10]

[1] Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 80 (Net.). [2] Nansen, I, 52.

[3] Turner, I, 203 (U.); Steensby, II, 283 (Gr.); Birket-Smith, II, 371 (Egd.); Murdoch, I, 277 (Pt.B.).

[4] Nelson, I, 268 (B.St.); Stèensby, I, 84 (U.); Turner, I, 203 (U.).

[5] Birket-Smith, II, 371 (Egd.).

[6] Whymper, I, 169 (A.); Thalbitzer, IV, 276 (N. Gr.); Birket-Smith, II, 371 (Egd.); Dall, I, 14 (A.); Hall, I, 395; Langsdorf, Vol. 2, pp. 35, 63; Nelson, I, 268 (B.St.); Thalbitzer, III, 504 (E.Gr.); Porter, p. 103 (A.); Birket-Smith, III, 188 (Gr.).

[7] Kroeber, p. 269 (S.S.); Jenness, VII, 172; Langsdorf, Vol. 2, p. 63 (B.St.); Nelson, I, 75, 268 (B.St.); Turner, I, 233 (U.); Jenness, III, 140 (Cop.); Moore, pp. 360, 361 (St.L.Is.); Hawkes, III, 34 (Lab.).

[8] Hall, I, 271. [9] Hawkes, III, 34, footnote 1. [10] Stefánsson, VI, 340.

CHAPTER II

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

Under "food" we are concerned with game from the time of capture. There is no rule as to which sex should transport the game from the place of killing, the practice varying according to the locality and the kind of animal. Thus for East Greenland we learn that the men drag captured animals into houses or tents, while the men of the west coast of Greenland would not do this.[1] In some places the men and women work together bringing in the game.[2] An exception to this rule occurs in the transporting of the reindeer carcass, the women more usually doing this work.[3] Parts of the caribou may be brought in by the hunter,[4] or he may return to camp for the sled with which to transport it.[5]

The women seem often to help the men to drag animals caught on the sea to shore,[6] and in early times

[1] Holm, p. 68; Graah, p. 117.

[2] Jenness, III, 134 (Cop.); Rink, I, 236, 239 (Gr.); Jenness, VII, 136, 172.

[3] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 125 (Gr.); Jenness, VII, 142; Murdoch, I, 266 (Pt.B.); Nansen, I, 124; Jenness, III, 148 (Cop.); Hall, II, 178; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 315 (Gr.); Rink, I, 272 (Gr.).

[4] Gilder, pp. 25, 140 (K.Wm.L.); Jenness, III, 140 (Cop.); Astrup, p. 138 (S.S.).

[5] Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 77.

[6] Saabye, pp. 252, 30 (Gr.); Nansen, I, 70, 71; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 313 (Gr.); Petroff, p. 128 (A.); Birket-Smith, III, 188 (Gr.); Birket-Smith, II, 339 (Egd.); Rink, III, 405 (Gr.); Murdoch, I, 270 (Pt.B.).

it was considered to be beneath a man's dignity to do this.[1] In some localities it is the men's usual task, however,[2] the walrus especially being dragged home by men with the help of dogs,[3] and we often find indiscriminate statements that the men bring in the returns of the chase.[4]

Both men and women take part in the flaying of game. "All depends upon where the flaying and cutting up take place. If it is out on the ice, as with a walrus, or at the place where the caribou has been shot, the men do the work. But if the animal is brought right into the camp, as is the case with seals, the women set to work."[5] Thus walrus is flensed by men,[6] seal by women,[7] caribou by both.[8] The general statement that the men tend to flay the larger animals[9] may be made. Bearskins[10] particularly are removed by the men, and they may remove seal-

[1] Nansen, I, 122, 123. [2] Graah, p. 117 (E.G.); Low, p. 154 (N.Lab.).

[3] Astrup, p. 119 (S.S.); Parry, Vol. 1, p. 291 (W.Is.).

[4] Moore, p. 357 (St.L.Is.); Hanbury, p. 160 (B.L.); Dall, I, 139 (A.); Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 41 (Net.); Steensby, II, 332 (Gr.).

[5] Birket-Smith, I, 139 (C.E.).

[6] Thalbitzer, III, 503 (E.Gr.); Hovey, p. 371 (S.S.); Birket-Smith, II, 279 (Egd.).

[7] Nansen, II, Vol. 2, 313 (Gr.); Saabye, p. 252 (Gr.); Walsh, p. 84 (Gr.); Rae, p. 151 (Gr.); Jenness, VII, 214; III, 114 (Cop.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 133 (Gr.); Seward, p. 44 (Gr.); Porsild, p. 224 (W.Gr.); C. L. Hooper, p. 30 (S.); Birket-Smith, II, 279 (Egd.); Thalbitzer, III, 503 (E.Gr.); Steensby, II, 291 (S.Gr.).

[8] Rossman, p. 103; Hall, II, 178.

[9] Hovey, p. 371 (S.S.); Thalbitzer, III, 503 (E.Gr.); Steensby, II, 291 (Gr.).

[10] Hovey, p. 371 (S.S.); Peary, II, 149; Bilby, p. 252; Astrup, p. 110 (S.S.); Thalbitzer, III, 503 (E.Gr.).

skins on occasion,[1] while birds[2] and small animals[3] are skinned by the women. A few authors make the general statement that it is the woman's duty to flay the game procured by the hunter.[4]

The same general rule seems to apply in the flensing of animals as in the flaying of them, since it may be assumed that the animal is skinned and cut up by the same person. Thus we find seals usually are cut up by the women[5] with certain exceptions.[6] The flensing of the whale is done largely by men,[7] though the women may help[8] or take it over entirely,[9] and as for flaying, we find the statement for flensing that it is done by the men in the case of large animals in Greenland except in the Thule district.[10]

The curing of fish, the women seem always to take in hand.[11] This may possibly be due to the fact that

[1] Kumlien, p. 21; Tremblay, p. 133.

[2] Astrup, p. 81 (S.S.); Hovey, p. 371 (S.S.); Hall, I, 122; Aldrich, p. 83 (A.).

[3] Hall, I, 392.

[4] Bogoras, I, 216; Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 41; Nansen, I, 70, 71.

[5] Boas, I, 580 (H.B.), Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 313 (Gr.); Bilby, p. 109; Ross, I, 187; Stefánsson, VI, 351; Rasmussen, I, 120 (L.I.); Parry, Vol. 1, pp. 277, 295 (W.Is.).

[6] Gilbertson, p. 82, quoting Holm (E.Gr.); Rasmussen, III, 21 (Gr.); Low, p. 154 (N.Lab.).

[7] Egede, p. 103 (Gr.); Boas, I, 603; Steensby, p. 91 (W.Gr.), quoting H. Egede, O. Fabricius, H. C. Glahn; Mikkelsen, p. 72 (Pt.B.).

[8] Rink, I, 271 (Gr.); Nansen, I, 113.

[9] Stefánsson, VI, 138 (Mac.).

[10] Birket-Smith, III, 188 (Gr.).

[11] Richardson, 155 (Mac.); Jenness, III, 84, 85, 156 (Cop.); Jenness, VII, 116; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, pp. 301, 257; Hutton, p. 253 (Lab.); Thalbitzer, III, 467, 468 (E.Gr.); Stefánsson, II, 75 (Mac.); Nelson, I, 183 (B.St.).

the fish are often sewed together after being dried,[1] and since the use of the needle is invariably associated with feminine pursuits, the curing of fish as relating to man, may have come to be unthinkable. Perhaps another partial explanation of this is the fact that women are more often employed in the catching of fish,[2] frequently when the men are engaged in the hunt in distant places. Men are known to have worked with their wives in this, however.[3]

The caching of meat at the scene of killing is done by the men[4] except in the case of birds killed by women,[5] while the women take the meat to storehouses near the dwellings,[6] an old woman sometimes being left in charge of these.[7] Meat is usually cured by the women,[8] though the men do this on occasion,[9] especially if there are no women in the party.[10]

An instance of men and women working together in caching the whale, states that the women cut up and carried the meat in their hands while the men

[1] Thalbitzer, III, 467, 468 (E.Gr.); Jenness, III, 156 (Cop.).

[2] See p. 8.

[3] Jenness, VII, 240 (C.G.).

[4] Ray, p. 44 (Pt.B.); Birket-Smith, I, 143 (C.E.); Astrup, p. 138 (S.S.); Gilder, p. 140 (K.Wm.L.).

[5] Ekblaw, p. 188 (Gr.).

[6] Mikkelsen, p. 72 (Pt.B.); Rasmussen, I, 310 (Pt.B.); Jenness, VII, 116; Birket-Smith, I, 143 (C.E.).

[7] Elliott, II, 381; Rink, I, 264; Stefánsson, VI, 263 (C.G.).

[8] Rink, I, 236; Stefánsson, VI, 262 (C.G.); Jenness, VII, 163; Stefánsson, III, 91.

[9] Rasmussen, I, 145. [10] Stefánsson, VI, 139 (Mac.).

dragged larger masses of it or carried it on their shoulders.[1] This may be assumed to be the difference in technique between the man's method of caching on the site of the kill, and the woman's habits in connection with the placing of food in the storehouses. That the men are mentioned as using dogs in dragging the animals when they transported them seems also to indicate that the men were wont to handle the meat in pieces of larger size than did the women.

The cooking of food seems to be invariably the task of the women.[2] An instance of a man thus engaged was found, but he and his wife were alone on the caribou hunt at the time and she was busy mending boots.[3] A few men might prepare breakfast in the kashim[4] but this was unusual, the wives of most of them bringing it in.[5] The process of grinding foods for the purpose of mixing them with others is the task of the women, who accomplish it by means of mastication.[6] Meat and blubber are mixed in this way,[7] Angelica stalks and blubber[8] or reindeer fat, snow and berries, which latter is considered a great

[1] Hall, II, 363 (R.B.).

[2] Rasmussen, I, 373, 374; Jenness, III, 99, 115; Rink, I, 271; Thalbitzer, III, 543; Steensby, II, 332; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 313.

[3] Rink, I, 235.

[4] Petroff, p. 132 (A.).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Murdoch, I, 63; de Nadillac, p. 4; Gilder, p. 154; Nansen, I, 90; Nelson, I, 267, 268; Saabye, p. 255.

[7] Murdoch, I, 63. [8] Nansen, I, 90.

delicacy to be served at feasts.[1] All food taken by the small child is first put through this process.[2]

Distribution of food to members of the family and guests seems also to have been woman's prerogative,[3] the housewife often finding it necessary to lick the meat thus served with her tongue to free it of dripping fat or other substance.[4]

The collection of fuel for cooking during the summer when the blubber lamps are not used is an important activity among the women.[5] Sometimes men and women worked together at this,[6] but it is usually when the wood must be got at a great distance that the men undertake to fetch it,[7] transporting it by means of the sled.[8] It is only when a man is alone with his family that he will condescend to do this.[9]

Another function, very important in a climate where the atmosphere is considerably below the freezing-point a great deal of the time, is the provid-

[1] Nelson, I, 267, 268.

[2] Jenness, III, 168, 169.

[3] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 219; Rink, I, 271; Stefánsson, III, 178; Stefánsson, IV, 350; Stefánsson, VI, 60 (C.G.); Parry, Vol. 2, p. 186 (Ig.); Nelson, I, 297; Moore, p. 356; Bilby, pp. 142, 97.

[4] Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 170; Hall, I, 166, 213; Lyon, II, 250 (Ig.); *Northern Regions*, p. 20.

[5] Rink, I, 272; Birket-Smith, III, 188; I, 88, 89; II, 373; IV, 201 (Car. Esk.); Boas, I, 577; Hall, II, 591; Hanbury, p. 47; Lyon, II, 75; Stefánsson, VI, 257 (C.G.); Jenness, VII, 131, 118, 126 (C.G.); Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 224 (S.St.); Rasmussen, I, 71, 72; Porter, p. 103; Mikkelsen, II, 100; Turner, I, 207.

[6] Murdoch, I, 428; Jenness, VII, 141, 142.

[7] Turner, I, 205, 206.

[8] Hutton, p. 95; Stefánsson, VI, 228.

[9] Jenness, III, 88.

ing of water for the group. This becomes the duty of the women under most conditions of Eskimo life,[1] the wife placing snow in a skin bag worn next the body when on the march, and when no fire is available for melting water.[2]

Boys may be drawn into service as water carriers,[3] or if necessary to bring it a great distance, as sometimes happens in summer, the men do it,[4] but it is quite definitely the usual task of the housewife.[5] In Greenland, when on the deer hunt, each person provides himself with water.[6]

The principal meal of the Eskimo is eaten in the evening when the men return from the hunt[7] and is a community affair held at the home of the successful hunter.[8] As a rule the men eat alone,[9] the women eating later[10] or in a group by themselves,[11] there being

[1] Rasmussen, I, 139 (Ig.); Birket-Smith, II, 374; Boas, III, 136, 137; Bilby, p. 97; Birket-Smith, I, 133; Hall, II, 384 (R.B.); Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 272; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 186 (Ig.); Moore, p. 362.

[2] Ray, p. 44 (Pt.B.); Murdoch, I, 64 (Pt.B.).

[3] Birket-Smith, II, 374; Rink, III, 132.

[4] Birket-Smith, I, 133. [5] Turner, I, 207. [6] Rink, I, 272 (Gr.).

[7] Murdoch, I, 63 (Pt. B.); Mathiassen, p. 207 (Ig.); Egede, p. 137 (Gr.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 134 (Gr.); Boas, I, 563; Birket-Smith, I, 268 (C.E.).

[8] Birket-Smith, I, 268.

[9] Porter, p. 140; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 122 (S.St.); Birket-Smith, I, 267; Boas, I, 563, 564; III, 125; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 134; Egede, p. 137; Gilder, pp. 190, 45; Holm, p. 130; Kohlmeister and Kmoch, p. 69 (Lab.); Nansen, I, 134; *Northern Regions*, p. 202; Petroff, p. 128 (A.); Rink, III, 33; Mathiassen, p. 201; Murdoch, I, 63; Aldrich, p. 180.

[10] Hall, II, 90 (R.B.); Nansen, I, 134; Kohlmeister and Kmoch, p. 69 (Lab.); Gilder, p. 190; Boas, I, 564; Birket-Smith, I, 267.

[11] Stefánsson, VI, 135 (Mac.); Aldrich, p. 180 (A.); Hall, II, 80, 90 (R.B.); Birket-Smith, I, 267.

some indication that it is not good form for a woman to see the men eat,[1] though Stefánsson finds rank at meals to be by age, irrespective of sex.[2] The women are not particularly oppressed or slighted in this regard, however,[3] for they have the opportunity to eat during the husband's absence,[4] and when only the family is present at meals, all eat together.[5]

In eating, Birket-Smith reports the man to use his ordinary knife and the woman her ulo,[6] while Stefánsson finds both sexes using the ulo.[7] With regard to differences in diet, vegetable food forms a much larger part of the diet of the women,[8] though the men sometimes supplement their diet of animal food with the contents of the stomach of the reindeer.[9]

Tobacco is used by both sexes,[10] largely without differentiation as to sex in method of use. There seems to be a preference for snuff among the women

[1] Petroff, p. 128 (A.); Elliott, II, 386, 387.

[2] Stefánsson, VI, 69 (C.G.).

[3] Nansen, I, 133.

[4] Birket-Smith, I, 268; Mathiassen, p. 207; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 122 (S. St.); Leslie, p. 302; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 135; Egede, p. 137.

[5] Birket-Smith, I, 267; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 303 (S.St.); Astrup, pp. 271, 272 (S.S.).

[6] Birket-Smith, II, 384; I, 140.

[7] B. W. M., p. 165; Stefánsson, VI, 70.

[8] Bogoras, I, 199; Kroeber, p. 269 (S.S.); Steensby, II, 283; Ekblaw, p. 185; Mathiassen, p. 207.

[9] Steensby, II, 283; Ekblaw, p. 185; Jenness, III, 97.

[10] Aldrich, pp. 42 (S.), 56, 66, 185; Bancroft, Vol. 1, p. 68; Beechey, p. 256; Cook, Vol. 6, p. 470 (B.St.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 135; Dease and Simpson, p. 219; Lewis, p. 51; Mikkelsen, II, 117; Murdoch, I, 66; V, 339 (Pt.B.); T. Simpson, p. 147; J. Simpson, p. 243; Walsh, p. 67 (Gr.); Birket-Smith, I, 148.

in some regions,[1] and men when in the kayak find snuff-taking most convenient,[2] while with regard to smoking, the balance seems to be somewhat in favor of the men[3] with some exceptions,[4] though there is no statement to the effect that either form of use is restricted to one sex. Differentiation in type of pipe used by the women is observed for the western Eskimo,[5] but it is used also by the men when indoors, according to one account,[6] which would seem to indicate that it is not the sex of the smoker but the condition of use which determines the type of pipe employed. In Greenland the chewing of tobacco is somewhat more associated with the men.[7] Women have the preparation of tobacco in charge.[8]

[1] Turner, I, 234 (U.); Birket-Smith, III, 201 (Gr.); Graah, p. 119 (E.Gr.); Hawkes, III, 99 (Lab.); Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 311 (W.Gr.); Porter, p. 102 (A.); Stupart, p. 108 (Lab.).

[2] Rink, I, 190; Nansen, II, Vol. 1, p. 365.

[3] Hutton, p. 111; Hall, II, 135 (R.B.); De Nadaillac, p. 5; Birket-Smith, II, 390; Whymper, I, 171; Nelson, I, 271.

[4] Mathiassen, p. 208 (Ig.); Stupart, p. 105 (Lab.).

[5] Murdoch, I, 67 (Pt.B.); C. L. Hooper, p. 104; J. Simpson, p. 245 (Pt.B.).

[6] Murdoch, I, 67.

[7] Birket-Smith, III, 201; Rink, I, 190.

[8] Porter, p. 102; Nelson, I, 271; Birket-Smith, I, 149; Ray, p. 47; De Nadaillac, p. 5.

CHAPTER III

TRANSPORTATION

One of the most important journeys taken by these coast-dwellers is the trip inland every year to the summer camping-ground. If the journey is made by water the umiak, or "boat for transportation,"[1] is used as a means of conveyance for tents, household gear, and people,[2] and is almost invariably rowed by the women[3] with certain exceptions.[4] We have seen that this same boat was rowed by men if possible when used for hunting,[5] but on these journeys it was formerly beneath a man's dignity to row in the umiak,[6] while Cranz goes so far as to say that it would be a scandal for a man to lend a hand except

[1] Boas, I, 529.

[2] Maguire, p. 168 (Pt.B.); W. H. Hooper, p. 350 (Cape Bathurst); Egede, pp. 111, 112; Boas, I, 576.

[3] Rasmussen, III, 226; Richardson, p. 158 (Mac.); W. H. Hooper, p. 350; Birket Smith, III, 178, 188 (Gr.); Ellis, p. 135 (Sav.Is.); Cook, Vol. 6, p. 331; Chappell, p. 57; Boas, I, 575, 529, 499, 580; Birket-Smith, II, 257 (Egd.); Bilby, p. 117; *Account of Voyage to N.W. Passage*, p. 32 (H.St.); Turner, I, 205, 206; Graah, p. 29 (E.Gr.); Hall, I, 403, 72, 60; Holm, pp. 6, 5; W. H. Hooper, p. 350; Kumlien, p. 18; Leslie, p. 269 (Sav.Is.); Low, p. 156 (N.Lab.); Lyon, II, 41, 16 (H.St.); M'Clure, p. 71; M'Keevor, pp. 36, 37 (Sav.Is.); J. A. Mason, p. 271 (Gr.); Turner, II, 105; Thalbitzer, III, 503, 377; Sonntag, p. 174 (Upernivik); Seward, p. 53; Saabye, p. 290; Rink, I, 299, 275; Petitot, II, 185; I, 12; Nansen, I, 84, 85; Franklin, III, 414 (Mac.); II, 100 (Colville Is.).

[4] Turner, I, 236; Stefánsson, VI, 168 (C.G.); Hawkes, III, 69 (Wakeham Bay).

[5] Boas, I, 499; Gordon, I, 212; Jenness, IV, 165, (A.); J. A. Mason, p. 271; Steensby, I, 131 (Pt.B.), 92 (Gr.); Porsild, p. 145; Murdoch, I, 335, 273.

[6] Wallace, p. 228 (footnote); Nansen, I, 124; I. J. Hayes, p. 32; Egede, p. 111; Nansen, II, Vol. 1, p. 374.

in cases of extreme danger.[1] An exception to this rule is found in the western territory, where the men row the boat on these journeys[2] with the help of the women if necessary.[3]

The part of steersman in the umiak is usually taken by a man,[4] though a woman sometimes occupies the position.[5] Towing of the boat by dogs[6] together with men[7] or both men and women[8] is not unknown.

Women traveling in a umiak are always escorted and aided on long or perilous journeys by one or more men in kayaks.[9] These break the force of the waves

[1] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 138.

[2] Steensby, I, 131 (Pt.B.); Murdoch, I, 328 (Pt.B.); Beechey, pp. 209 (St.L.Is.), 240 (Icy Cape), 218 (Chamisso Is.); Dall, I, 380, 139, 137; Sauer, p. 243 (Cape Rodney); MacRitchie, p. 285; Kotzebue, Vol. 1, p. 194 (St.L.Is.); W. H. Hooper, p. 238 (Pt. Berens).

[3] J. Simpson, p. 252; Murdoch, I, 414, 335.

[4] Lyon, II, 36 (H.St.); Rasmussen, III, 226; Holm, pp. 43, 136; Boas, I, 575, 580; Birket-Smith, II, 257; Bilby, p. 117; Beechey, p. 218 (Chamisso Is.); Birket-Smith, III, 178; Chappell, pp. 103, 68, 57; Franklin, I, 19 (Sav.Is.); Kumlien, p. 18; Low, p. 156 (N.Lab.); Lyon, II, 36, 30, 16 (H.St.); Murdoch, I, 273; Waldo, p. 210 (Gr.); Turner, I, 235–36; Stefánsson, VI, 168 (C.G.); Saabye, p. 290; Rink, I, 297; Parry, Vol. 1, p. 198 (H.St.); *Northern Regions*, p. 166 (Sav.Is.); Mikkelsen, II, 100 (Flaxman Is.); Nansen, I, 84, 85; II, Vol. 2, pp. 313, 314, Vol. 1, p. 374.

[5] Thalbitzer, I, 256, 257 (Picture); *Northern Regions*, p. 169 (Nottingham Is.); M'Keevor, pp. 36, 37 (Sav.Is.); Lyon, II, 37 (Cape Dorset); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 138; *Account of Voyage to N.W. Passage*, p. 32 (H.St.); Thalbitzer, III, 379.

[6] C. L. Hooper, p. 102; Seward, p. 54; Muir, pp. 146, 147 (Icy Cape); Ray, pp. 39, 40 (Pt.B); Beechey, p. 281 (Cape Espenburg); Turner, I, 237.

[7] Mason, II, 256; Murdoch, I, 338. [8] Turner, I, 228.

[9] Turner, I, 235; Birket-Smith, II, 257; Tyrrell, p. 126 (B.L.); Walsh, p. 70 (Gr.); Thalbitzer, I, 256, 257 (Picture); J. Simpson, p. 264 (Pt.B.); T. Simpson, pp. 115, 116 (Phillips Bay); Saabye, p. 104; Rink, I, 297, 298; Rasmussen, III, 226; Nansen, I, 84, 85, 123; II. Vol. 1, p. 373; M'Clure, pp. 71, 72 (Cape Bathurst); Birket-Smith, II, 257; III, 178; *Account of Voyage for N.W. Passage*, p. 30 (H.St.).

when they run high,[1] and in case of necessity, even hold the sides of the boat in equilibrium with their hands.[2] The kayaker also investigates sea conditions and acts as messenger.[3]

The kayak is used for transport very rarely[4] and then only as a means of ferrying across streams.[5]

Traveling by means of the dog sledge is very important among the Eskimo, both men and women usually accompanying the team, and both sexes helping to draw the sledge when necessary.[6] It seems fairly clear that the woman usually pulled in front of the dogs,[7] while the man brought up the rear either pushing or pulling.[8] The woman's position in front of the dogs seems to have been habitually kept,[9] whether actually helping to draw the load or not, for the dogs tend to

[1] Saabye, p. 141. [2] Saabye, p. 21; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 138.

[3] Saabye, p. 104 (footnote); Rink, I, 298; Rasmussen, III, 226.

[4] Kroeber, p. 269.

[5] Thalbitzer, III, 381; Lyon, II, 343 (W.Is.); Jenness, III, 196; Hall, I, 406; Grenfell, p. 186 (Gr.); Cook, Vol. 6, p. 474 (Oonalashka Is.); Chappell, p. 118; *Captain Cartwright and His Labrador Journal*, p. 138; Cartwright, Vol. 1, pp. 274, 275 (Lab.); Birket-Smith, I, 188.

[6] Murdoch, I, 358, 359; Rasmussen, II, 317, 10; Jenness, III, 111; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, pp. 174, 175; Hall, II, 238, 164; Ray, p. 28; Stefánsson, VI, 79; Rasmussen, I, 319, 77; Parry, Vol. 1, p. 313 (W.Is.); Maguire, p. 182 (Pt.B.); Lyon, II, 202.

[7] Stefánsson, VI, 252 (C.G.); Jenness, VII, 80 (C.G.); III, 159, 87, 88.

[8] Stefánsson, III, 162; Murdoch, I, 358, 359; Mikkelsen, II, 131 (Flaxman Is.); Jenness, VII, 80 (C.G.); III, 87, 88, 111; Duchaussois, p. 229; Stefánsson, VI, 252 (C.G.).

[9] Gilder, p. 57 (W.H.B.); Hall, I, 195; II, 136; Stefánsson, IV, 178; III, 162; Ross, I, 342; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 203; Murdoch, I, 274; Mikkelsen, II, 333, 131; Low, p. 142; Boas, VII, 549, 550 (Tale), 465; I, 575, 576; Birket-Smith, I, 172; Bogoras, I, 93.

pull more willingly if they see somebody ahead of them.[1] Only very rarely does a man take this position.[2] The leader may drag a piece of meat or blubber before the dogs to encourage them.[3] The dogs are really directed in this way, for actual driving of dogs in the sense of guiding them is not the common practice.[4] Instances of dogs being driven from the rear by women[5] and by men[6] have reference to the Greenland Eskimo. The statement is made that the women are as proficient as the men,[7] though another author states that in West Greenland one never sees a woman drive.[8] The duties of the person in the position of driver are flogging the dogs,[9] watching the sledge to see that nothing falls,[10] pulling the sledge clear of obstructions. When riding, the driver guides the sledge by pressing one foot or the other on the ice at the side of the path.[11] These duties make of sledge-driving no easy task. On the trail usually everyone walks, but sometimes the men alone ride,[12] and more often the women find a seat on the sledge.[13]

[1] Ross, I, 342; Boas, VII, 465.

[2] Ashe, p. 44; Ray, p. 44; Barnum, p. 35.

[3] Murdoch, I, 358, 359. [4] Gilbertson, p. 70.

[5] Birket-Smith, I, 235 (Aivilik.); Astrup, p. 300 (S.S.); Rasmussen, III, 8.

[6] Steensby, II, 353. [9] Lyon, II, 185.

[7] Peary, II, 169. [10] Lyon, II, 185; Stefánsson, IV, 178.

[8] Rasmussen, III, 8. [11] Lyon, II, 244.

[12] Thalbitzer, III, 370 (Ommasalik); Parry, Vol. 2, p. 216; Mutch, p. 494; Gilder, pp. 51, 52.

[13] Hall, II, 245; Stefánsson, VI, 207; Ross, I, 343; Rasmussen, III, 29; Jenness, VII, 127; Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 266; Bilby, p. 133.

Packing of the sledge is done by men and women together,[1] the woman sometimes passing things out of the house to the man, who packs them,[2] or by the woman alone,[3] or by the man alone.[4]

In the harnessing of the dogs in preparation for sledging, the wife may be of assistance.[5] Dogs are fed by the women[6] or the men[7] when adult, though the care of young puppies devolves upon the women alone,[8] the woman carrying them in her hood as she would a child,[9] sometimes even chewing food for them.[10]

In the transportation of goods, when there is neither snow for sledging nor waterway for the use of boats, recourse is had to carrying on the back. Both sexes engage in this,[11] but the men seem sometimes to have been more lightly burdened in order to pursue game, should any be sighted.[12] On occasion the men

[1] Ross, I, 275; Jenness, III, 87, 111, 116.

[2] Jenness, III, 87; Hanbury, p. 169.

[3] Stefánsson, VI, 247; Jenness, III, 111.

[4] Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 230.

[5] Lewis, p. 50; Mutch, p. 493; Petroff, p. 132; Elliott, II, 388.

[6] Porter, p. 135; Rossman, p. 141; Ray, p. 44; Jenness, VII, 35.

[7] Low, p. 142; Boas, I, 579, 580; Astrup, p. 168.

[8] Boas, I, 580; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 205; Boas, I, 565; Jenness, VII, 172; Murdoch, I, 358; Light, p. 246; Jenness, III, 239; Aldrich, pp. 163, 164.

[9] Stefánsson, VI, 81; Ray, p. 44; Jenness, III, 239; VII, 172; Murdoch, I, 358; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 205.

[10] Aldrich, pp. 163, 164; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 205.

[11] Hanbury, p. 47; MacMillan, I, 206; Stefánsson, VI, 81; Bilby, p. 147; Boas, I, 577; Birket-Smith, I, 184.

[12] Jenness, IV, 172; Boas, VII, 477; Bilby, p. 239.

made the journey in their kayaks, the women walking with their burdens,[1] and statements are made by many authors which lead us to conclude that the carrying of burdens was considered to be women's work.[2]

Differentiation in the type of articles making up the loads of men and of women may be noted to a certain extent. As previously mentioned,[3] the young dogs are carried by women, and naturally the little children are also a part of their burden,[4] though the possession of an infant did not entitle the mother to choose a lighter load on that account.[5] Lamps and pots, being breakable, are always in charge of the women when on the march.[6]

[1] Low, p. 159; Lyon, II, 436.

[2] Rasmussen, III, 261, 262; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 154; Ashe, pp. 41, 42; Jenness, III, 133, 137; Nansen, I, 134; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 213; Jenness, VII, 93; Collinson, I, 201; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 124; Hall, II, 282.

[3] See p. 24.

[4] Egede, p. 148; Gilder, p. 23; Graah, p. 118; Hall, II, 215; Hanbury, p. 110; Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 267; Lyon, II, 304; Hall, I, 179.

[5] Hall, I, 282; Lyon, II, 75; Jenness, IX, 89; III, 137.

[6] Jenness, VII, 132, 133; III, 87, 88; Stefánsson, VI, 81; Boas, I, 544; Hall, II, 67, 68.

CHAPTER IV

BUILDING AND CARE OF HOUSES

Discovery of ruins of stone houses in many sections[1] leads to the supposition that their use was formerly more general than is now the case.[2] Now, however, the permanent winter dwelling is usually of stone and turf,[3] the more widely known snow hut being used chiefly as a temporary dwelling[4] while traveling or hunting. In the central region and in some other localities we do find the snow house used throughout the winter,[5] while in some places both types are

[1] Jenness, VI, 546 (From Labrador to Parry Archipelago); Stockton, pp. 179, 180; Scoresby, p. 218 (Gr.); Turner, I, 223 (H.St.); Birket-Smith, IV, 202 (C.E.); Andrup, p. 319 (Gr.); Hall, I, 128; Ellis, p. 148 (Sav. Is.); Greely, Vol. 2, Appendix 6, p. 355 (Offley Is.); Vol. 1, p. 385 (Gr.).

[2] Turner, I, 228; Steensby, I, 157 (C.G.), 80 (Baf.L.); Rasmussen, I, 113 (B.G.); Hall, I, 128; Steensby, I, 80.

[3] Rasmussen, II, 19 (Gr.); Peary, II, 54; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 291 (Gr.); A. H. Markham, p. 87 (Disco); C. R. Markham, II, 179 (Gr.); I, 129 (Baf.L.); MacMillan, I, 125 (Et.); Low, p. 58 (Ponds Inlet); Kane, II, 39, 40 (Gr.); Hutton, p. 38 (Lab.); Holm, pp. 8, 35 (Ang.); Hensen, p. 190 (N.Gr.); Hawkes, IV, 207 (Pt.B.); Graah, p. 45 (E.Gr.); Ekblaw, p. 158 (Gr.); Egede, p. 114 (Gr.); Davis, p. 455 (Et.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 129 (Gr.); Comer, p. 87 (S.Is.); Collinson, II, 421 (N.G.); Chappell, p. 85 (quoting Abbé Raynal); Bryant, p. 682; Thalbitzer, III, 355 (E.Gr.); Rink, I, 176 (Gr.); Ross, II, Vol. 1, p. 178 (Gr.); Saabye, p. 2 (Gr.); Steensby, I, 94 (Gr.); Thostrup, p. 192 (Gr.); Tremblay, p. 139; Waterman, p. 299 (W.H.B.); Whitney, pp. 127, 73 (Et.); Wallace, pp. 223, 224 (Lab.); Birket-Smith, II, 149 (Egd.); Dumbrava, p. 18 (Ang.).

[4] Steensby, II, 287 (Gr.); I, 163, 132 (Pt.B.); 80 (Baf.L.); Nelson, I, 242 (B.St.); Murdoch, I, 81 (Pt.B.); Hutton, p. 38 (Lab.); Hawkes, III, 58 (Lab.); Birket-Smith, III, 79, 80 (Gr.); Astrup, p. 153 (S.S.); Kroeber, p. 271 (S.S.); MacMillan, I, 142 (Et.); Hovey, p. 371 (S.S.); Murdoch, I, 266 (Pt. B.).

[5] Rae, p. 153; Murdoch, IV, 11 (H.B.); Mathiassen, p. 129 (Ig.); Turner, II, 100 (U.); I, 223 (H.St.); Rasmussen, I, 113 (B.G.); Parry, Vol. 2, p. 178

used.[1] Other materials used for the winter house are wood and moss,[2] wood alone,[3] and earth alone.[4] Some are of bone construction,[5] and mention is made of caves used as winter houses,[6] while on the Asiatic coast the winter tent is now employed.[7]

In some districts the snow house is never used,[8] even as a temporary abode. Thus we find that our romantic notion of the Eskimo as an igloo-dweller is without basis in fact. The reason for this misapprehension is easily understood after reading the literature, however, for whether because the snow hut, being less durable, is more frequently observed in the course of construction than are the other types, or because, being unique with the Eskimo, it appeals to the imagination of travelers and investigators, much data on the construction of this shelter are available, while the building of the other types is largely ignored. That the snow house is even less common

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(Ig.); Ashe, p. 33 (H.St.); Birket-Smith, IV, 203 (C.E.); I, 70 (C.E.); Collinson, I, 200; Hawkes, III, 59 (Baf.L.); Jenness, VIII, 546; III, 58, 56 (Cop.); VII, 228 (C.G.); Kumlien, p. 31 (C.Sd.).

[1] Boas, III, 94 (W.H.B.); Boas, I, 539 (Smith Sd. to Labrador) (Davis St. to Victoria Land); Bessels, p. 866 (S.S.).

[2] Moore, pp. 347, 348 (St.L.Is.); Murdoch, I, 72 (Pt.B.); Rossman, p. 55; Stefánsson, III, 80 (C.R.); Krulish, pp. 4, 5 (A.); Franklin, II, 121 (Mac.); Dall, I, 13 (B.St.).

[3] Townsend, p. 86 (A.).

[4] Steensby, I, 145 (B.St.).

[5] Lyon, II, 235 (Ig.); *Northern Regions*, pp. 217, 218 (Ig.); Collinson, III, 138.

[6] MacRitchie, p. 291 (D.St.); C. L. Hooper, p. 37 (B.St.); Kelley, p. 26 (S.); Jeremie, p. 5; Charlevoix, Vol. 1, p. 258.

[7] Steensby, I, 135.

[8] *Ibid.*, 158 (coast of A., Gr., Baf.L., Lab.).

than the data make clear is probable, owing to the fact that the Eskimo very often cover a dwelling constructed entirely of other materials with snow, if this covering has not been brought about naturally by storms,[1] thus perhaps leading less careful investigators to report snow houses where they do not exist.

The stone and turf house, though there are few data on its construction, and that invariably with reference to Greenland, seems to be built by the women,[2] the men only taking charge of the woodwork,[3] the material for which was procured by them,[4] though the other materials used were collected by the women.[5] An exception occurs at Smith Sound, where the men construct the houses of stone,[6] and we find among the Polar Eskimo that the men gladly help in their construction if not engaged in hunting.[7]

The building of the snow hut is, for the most part, the work of the men,[8] but there are a few women who

[1] Franklin, II, 121 (Mac.); Rasmussen, I, 318 (C.R.); Whitney, pp. 127, 73 (Et.); MacMillan, I, 125 (Et.); Holm, p. 42 (Ang.); Ekblaw, p. 166 (Gr.).

[2] Birket-Smith, III, 188 (Gr.); Rink, III, 10 (Gr.); Egede, pp. 111, 112 (Gr.); Rasmussen, I, 209, 210 (Gr.); Rink, I, 174 (Gr.); Ekblaw, pp. 195, 166, 163 (Gr.); Graah, pp. 45, 109, 118 (E.G.); Saabye, pp. 249, 36 (Gr.); Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 131, 154 (Gr.); Birket-Smith, II, 149 (Egd.); Walsh, p. 84 (Gr.).

[3] Saabye, pp. 249, 35 (Gr.); Graah, p. 45 (E.Gr.); Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 131, 154 (Gr.); Birket-Smith, II, 149 (Gr.); III, 188, 187 (Gr.).

[4] Graah, p. 109 (E.Gr.).

[5] Rink, III, 10 (Gr.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 154 (Gr.).

[6] Hovey, p. 371 (S.S.).

[7] Ekblaw, p. 166 (Gr.).

[8] Rasmussen, I, 7 (Gr.); Boas, I, 580; Turner, I, 224 (U.); Steensby, II, 287 (Gr.); Hall, II, 133, 134 (R.B.); Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 138 (S.St.); Vol. 2, pp. 5, 6 (Net.); Astrup, p. 149 (S.S.); Mathiassen, p. 125 (Ig.); Wallace, p. 240 (Lab.); Stefánsson, VI, 63, 64 (C.G.); II, 153, 154 (Mac.); Ross, I, 195; Richardson, p. 208; Parry, Vol. 1, p. 257 (W.Is.); Low, p. 142 (N.Lab.); Lewis, p. 47; Jenness, VII, 188, 120, 32 (C.G.); III, 59, 60 (Cop.); Dr. I. I. Hayes, pp. 243,

can build one.[1] The women, however, help by filling the chinks between the snow blocks or shoveling snow over the exterior.[2] On occasion the woman may cut the blocks with which the man builds the house.[3] The man may procure and insert ice for the window[4] or the woman may do this,[5] and she may also build a rampart of snow blocks about the new dwelling[6] or dig a trench in the snow, which later becomes a covered passageway.[7]

The arrangement of the interior of the snow house is the task of the women.[8] Exceptionally, the construction of the bed platform might be the work of a man,[9] and he might take part in the other arrangement.[10]

244; Hall, I, 504, 505; Hanbury, pp. 75, 76 (B.L.); Gilder, pp. 258, 259; Franklin, I, 265 (Churchill River); Forbin, I, 97; Ekblaw, p. 171 (Gr.); Davis, p. 452 (Et.); Boas, VII, 539 (W.H.B.); Birket-Smith, I, 80, 234 (C.E.); Bilby, pp. 78, 79; Amundsen, I, 267; Hawkes, III, 58 (Lab.); Parry, Vol. 2, p. 178 (Ig.); Boas, I, 580; Hovey, p. 371 (S.S.); Mathiassen, p. 210 (Ig.); Birket-Smith, III, 187 (Gr.); Peary, II, 172, 173.

[1] Mathiassen, p. 125 (Ig.); Jenness, III, 88 (Cop.).

[2] Hanbury, pp. 75, 76 (B.L.); Ross, I, 195; Jenness, III, 60 (Cop.); Mathiassen, p. 124 (Ig.); Amundsen, I, 267; II, Vol. 2, pp. 5, 6 (Net.); Bilby, pp. 78, 79; Birket-Smith, I, 80 (C.E.); Gilder, pp. 258, 259; Lewis, p. 47; Low, p. 142 (N.Lab.); Stefánsson, II, 154 (Mac.).

[3] Parry, Vol. 1, p. 307 (W.Is.); Stefánsson, II, 153, 154 (Mac).

[4] Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 14 (Net.); I, 269.

[5] Jenness, III, 141 (Cop.); VII, 32, 188 (C.G.).

[6] Jenness, III, 60 (Cop.).

[7] Stefánsson, II, 156 (Mac.).

[8] Mutch, p. 491; Low, p. 142 (N.Lab.); Mathiassen, p. 124 (Ig.); Stefánsson, VI, 63, 64 (C.G.); Hall, I, 504, 505, 196; Hanbury, pp. 75, 76 (B.L.); Gilder, pp. 258, 259; Forbin, I, 97; Kumlien, p. 32; Bilby, pp. 81, 82; Jenness, III, 60, 61 (Cop.); Amundsen, I, 267; II, Vol. 2, 8 (Net.).

[9] Bilby, pp. 78, 79; Stefánsson, II, 156 (Mac.).

[10] Steensby, II, 286; MacMillan, I, 138 (Et.).

In contrast to the winter house, the summer dwelling or tent is in general use throughout the Eskimo territory[1] and seems to be constructed in the same way everywhere,[2] though here again the data concerning construction are scant. It is erected commonly by women,[3] rarely by men,[4] and on occasion by their combined efforts,[5] the woman lacing it together at the top, while the man weights the bottom. It is the woman's duty to do the necessary sewing of the skins,[6] which in itself constitutes a large part of the work of tent-making, and the arrangement of the furnishings inside was also the task of the housewife.[7]

The most important article of furniture in the Eskimo dwelling is the lamp,[8] since it serves for heating, lighting, and cooking purposes.[9] These are found, without exception, to be in complete charge of the women,[10] except in the matter of kindling the fire, in

[1] Peary, II, 54; Frobisher, p. 65; Kroeber, p. 271. [2] Rink, III, 7.

[3] Mikkelsen, I, 224 (Scoresby Sd.); Petitot, pp. 170, 192; Kumlien, p. 24 (C.Sd.); Jenness, VII, 156, 134; Ekblaw, p. 161; Birket-Smith, III, 82, 188 (Gr.); II, 156 (Egd.); I, 84 (C.E.); Hall, I, 183; Thalbitzer, III, 503 (E.G.); Stefánsson, IV, 6; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 154 (Gr.); Jenness, III, 135, 141 (Cop.).

[4] Ross, I, 292; Jenness, III, 130 (Cop.); Holm, p. 68 (Ang.).

[5] Jenness, III, 78, 128 (Cop.).

[6] Jenness, III, 79 (Cop.); Lyon, II, 237, 238 (Ig.); MacRitchie, p. 290 (D.St.); Boas, I, 580.

[7] Mason, IV, 411; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 132 (Gr.).

[8] Boas, II, 109. [9] Hough, p. 117.

[10] Sonntag, pp. 111, 108; Stefánsson, II, 135 (Mac.); Tremblay, p. 140; Thalbitzer, III, 503 (E.G.); Steensby, II, 320, 328, 329; Rasmussen, II, 35 (Gr.); Ekblaw, p. 169; Rasmussen, I, 34; Rae, p. 142; Petitot, II, 50; Peary, II, 56; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 182 (Ig.); McClintock, p. 226; Lewis, p. 49; Jenness, VII, 40; III, 115; Nansen, II, Vol. 1, p. 340; Boas, VII, 466; Osborn, p. 22; Boas, I, 546; Birket-Smith, III, 87; Mathiassen, p. 210 (Ig.); Holm, p. 60 (Ang.).

which both sexes might be employed, the men sometimes working the thong[1] and sometimes holding the drill,[2] though it was more often the task of the women alone.[3] We have already seen that the woman was responsible for the lamp when traveling.[4]

The care of the lamp includes not only the preparation and trimming of the wick,[5] but the extraction from blubber of the oil used as fuel,[6] often by means of chewing it.[7] The oil thus obtained was spurt from the mouth into the flame.

When fires in the open were kindled, it became the duty of the women to supply fuel for these,[8] though the man might lend assistance in the way of making fine chips of wood, which the woman fed into the flame.[9]

The general care of the house among the Eskimo is in the hands of the women,[10] for "the men meddle with

[1] Thalbitzer, III, 530, 531, also Fig. 69; Holm, p. 78.

[2] Murdoch, I, 290; Ellis, p. 132 (Picture).

[3] Bogoras, I, 232, 174; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 219; Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, p. 121; Thalbitzer, III, 530, 531; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 213 (Ig.); McClintock, p. 226 (Cape Victoria); Dall, VI, 8.

[4] See p. 25.

[5] Jenness, III, 108; Steensby, II, 330.

[6] Bilby, p. 74.

[7] Thalbitzer, III, 535; Birket-Smith, II, 163; Boas, I, 545; Lyon, II, 246.

[8] Birket-Smith, II, 373; Rink, I, 274; Boas, I, 577; Hanbury, p. 69; Lyon, II, 75.

[9] Stefánsson, VI, 45.

[10] Jenness, III, 119, 133; Moore, p. 360; Nansen, I, 123; II, Vol. 2, p. 291; Nelson, I, 288; Rae, p. 143; Saabye, p. 196; Sonntag, p. 108; Moore, p. 360; Jenness, III, 133, 112; Ray, p. 44; Ekblaw, p. 193; Bilby, pp. 97, 98, 102; Astrup, p. 268; Ashe, pp. 41, 42; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 298; Boas, I, 580.

no work at home but what concerns their tools."[1] Housekeeping includes the care of all clothing (which she helps the wearer to remove[2] and which must be dried and softened after each wearing),[3] the cleaning of utensils,[4] the cleaning of the house,[5] its ventilation,[6] the clearing of snow from the roof[7] or passageway,[8] and the making of any repairs necessary either in the tent or the winter house.[9] Stefánsson makes mention of another household task, the making of fine shavings of wood to be used as towels and as an absorbent in the dressing of wounds. The men only are thus employed in the Mackenzie Delta region,[10] while both sexes manufacture this excelsior-like product about Coronation Gulf.[11] The man in Eskimo society is not above the performance of homely household tasks,[12] however, even caring for the lamp[13] or cooking[14] if his wife is absent.

[1] Egede, p. 112.

[2] Dall, VI, 8; Rasmussen, III, 10; Boas, I, 574.

[3] Hall, I, 196; Boas, I, 565; *Northern Regions*, p. 194; Thalbitzer, III, 503, 516; Saabye, p. 198; Porter, p. 135; Ray, p. 44; Hutton, p. 32; Hawkes, III, 151; Hanbury, p. 47; Boas, I, 565; Birket-Smith, III, 94; Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 10; I, 268; Kane, I, Vol. 1, p. 405; Jenness, III, 127; Bilby, p. 97.

[4] Stefánsson, VI, 172; Jenness, III, 106; Hall, II, 90; p. 79.

[5] Mathiassen, p. 130; MacMillan, I, 152.

[6] Aldrich, p. 152; Ekblaw, p. 169.

[7] Lyon, II, 158.

[8] Hall, II, 228; Jenness, III, 115.

[9] Rasmussen, I, 139; Egede, p. 112.

[10] Stefánsson, II, 147.

[11] Stefánsson, VI, 175.

[12] Ray, p. 44.

[13] Ekblaw, p. 169.

[14] Jenness, III, 88.

CHAPTER V

MANUFACTURING

"There is an inherited distribution of labor between man and woman which leaves all work in hard materials such as metal, wood and bone . . . . to the lot of the men, whereas the women have to undertake the preparation of skins and sewing."[1] This statement for the barren lands might be applied to all the Eskimo territory with but few exceptions. Wherever carving is done, in which hard materials are of necessity employed, it is the work of the men.[2] Thus carving provides an artistic outlet for the men, chiefly in ivory, while ornamental work in skins is confined to the women.[3]

The making of clothing is one of the Eskimo woman's most important functions,[4] since a man is helpless if he has no one to make his clothes.[5] The state-

[1] Birket-Smith, I, 235.

[2] Hutton, p. 105 (Lab.); W. H. Hooper, p. 56 (S.); Kane, I, 134 (Et.); Aldrich, p. 75 (A.); Bessels, p. 880 (S.S.); Birket-Smith, II, 92 (Egd.); Boas, VII, 469 (Chesterfield Inlet), 476 (S.Is.); Gordon, I, 215, 216, 223 (A.); Nelson, I, 197, 196, 81 (B.St.); Rasmussen, I, 353 (Nunivak. Is.); Schultz-Lorentzen, pp. 246, 247 (Gr.); Steensby, II, 351, 347 (Gr.); Thalbitzer, III, 623 (E.G.); Turquetil, p. 427 (H.B.); Whitney, p. 129 (Et.).

[3] Schultz-Lorentzen, pp. 246, 247; Birket-Smith, II, 115; III, 200.

[4] Tyrrell, p. 123; Steensby, II, 335; Whitney, p. 80; Turner, I, 217; Ross, II, Vol. 1, p. 172; Rink, I, 296; Osborn, p. 20; Koldeway, p. 225; Jenness, VII, 25; III, 110; Hutton, p. 231; Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 241; Ekblaw, pp. 183, 184; Davis, pp. 470, 471; Dall, I, 397; Cook, Vol. 6, p. 470; B. W. M., p. 167; Aldrich, p. 60; Boas, V, 205; Bessels, p. 876.

[5] Stefánsson, I, 390; Boas, III, 468; Birket-Smith, III, 93.

ment, "It is the task of the women to make and mend the man's clothes no less than it is his to get the daily food,"[1] is true of other regions than that for which it was made.[2] In fact, we find at Angmagsalik that lack of proficiency with the needle was grounds for divorce,[3] while at Point Barrow a wife who would not make her own clothes was discarded.[4] The seams of the Eskimo housewife must be waterproof,[5] and in turning out the necessary garments she sometimes works far into the night.[6] Instances are found of men being employed in making clothing,[7] but these are, of course, exceptional.

The preparation of skins for the making of clothing, a laborious process consisting of many scrapings and rubbings,[8] is largely the work of the women.[9] It is this work in which the women are engaged in large part when accompanying the men inland on the reindeer hunt,[10] or out to the so-called "sealing-grounds."[11]

[1] Rasmussen, II, 18.

[2] Langsdorf, Vol. 2, p. 63 (Kadiak Is.); Mathiassen, p. 210 (Ig.); MacRitchie, p. 270 (D.St.); Krulish, p. 6 (A.); Holm, p. 60 (Ang.); Boas, III, 478 (H.St.).

[3] Holm, p. 70. [4] Murdoch, I, 412. [5] Stefánsson, I, 390.

[6] Jenness, III, 110, 111; Boas, III, 478, 479.

[7] Astrup, pp. 103, 153 (S.S.); Ray, p. 48 (Pt.B.).

[8] Thalbitzer, III, 504, 505; Boas, I, 467, 468.

[9] Aldrich, p. 55 (S.); Bellot, p. 54 (Gr.); Bilby, pp. 89, 90; Birket-Smith, I, 245; Boas, I, pp. 422, 467, 468, 517, 518, 576, 577, 578; Cartwright, Vol. 1, p. 45; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 153; Dumbrava, p. 20; Ekblaw, p. 162; Hall, II, 100 (R.B.); Holm, p. 49; W. H. Hooper, p. 37 (S.); Hovey, p. 369; Hutton, pp. 68, 105; Kelly, p. 17; Kumlien, p. 40; Mason, I, 562; Murdoch, I, 294, 295; Rasmussen, III, 285, 286; Saabye, pp. 252, 253; Steensby, II, 347, 332; Stefánsson, VI, 142, 199; Tremblay, p. 133; Walsh, p. 84 (Gr.); Moore, pp. 360, 361; Holm, p. 49.

[10] Hawkes, III, 116; Kumlien, p. 19; Turner, I, 207. [11] Bilby, pp. 89, 90.

The part taken by men in the preparation varies regionally. Thus in East Greenland the men habitually help with the polar bearskins, though all others are dressed by women.[1] For the western Eskimo we find, according to one account, that skins are dressed by the men because it is too hard work for the women,[2] and, according to another, "It is customary for the men to dress the skins of large animals such as reindeer, wolves, wolverines, bears, seals and walrus, while the women prepare the skins of the smaller creatures, such as fawns, hares, muskrats, marmots and water-fowl, and sometimes assist the men in the preparation of the larger skins."[3] A third account says that men prepare the sealskins for use on boats and to make boot soles.[4] Among the Hudson Bay tribes the men regularly dress the deerskins,[5] and on St. Lawrence Island the men are obliged to dress the walrus hides which are too heavy for the women to manage.[6] Several authors mention help being rendered by the men in skin-dressing,[7] especially in scraping.[8] The Copper Eskimo men scrape most of the skins that the women intend to use.[9] At Coro-

[1] Thalbitzer, III, 503, 506.

[2] Gilder, p. 143 (K.Wm.L.).

[3] Nelson, I, 116 (B.St.).

[4] Dall, I, 139 (A.).

[5] Turquetil, p. 426; Mason, I, 565; Boas, I, 522, 578, 580.

[6] Elliott, II, 460.

[7] Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, 324 (Net.); Hall, II, 91 (R.B.); Stefánsson, VI, 142 (C.G.).

[8] Mathiassen, p. 210 (Ig.); Jenness, VII, 188.

[9] Jenness, III, 110.

nation Gulf "scraping skins was not aglernaktok (taboo) but the men were merely lazy."[1] Hall found a man busy at skin-dressing,[2] and we find that even the disagreeable work of chewing the skins to render them pliable, which is usually done by the women,[3] may, in times of scarcity, be done gladly by the men.[4]

In the manufacture of the kayak and umiak, the men and women work together, the framework being invariably constructed by the men,[5] while the women are accustomed to covering it with skins.[6]

The sledge is usually made by the men,[7] or exceptionally by both sexes,[8] the man collecting materials for its manufacture.[9] Snowshoes are made by men.[10]

Men manufacture and repair the hunting imple-

[1] Stefánsson, VI, 323.

[2] Hall, II, 214.

[3] C. R. Markham, I, 133; Steensby, pp. 386, 387; Hall, I, 114; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 324.

[4] Nansen, I, 131.

[5] Langsdorf, Vol. 2, p. 63; Thalbitzer, I, 267; Saabye, p. 35; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 386; I, 46; Krulish, p. 6; Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 154, 137, 138; Birket-Smith, III, 187; II, 92; I, 186; Bilby, pp. 108, 112; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, pp. 305, 322; Dall, I, 139; Cook, Vol. 6, p. 470; Stefánsson, VI, 97.

[6] Birket-Smith, II, 255; Thalbitzer, I, 318; Tremblay, p. 134; Stefánsson, II, 192; Peary, II, 68; Parry, Vol. 2, pp. 228, 229, 187; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 386; I, 45, 46; Low, p. 156; Hawkes, III, 72; Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 154, 137, 138; Boas, I, 580; Birket-Smith, I, 186; Bilby, pp. 108, 112; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, pp. 322, 305; Walsh, p. 84; Birket-Smith, III, 188; Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 28; Cook, Vol. 6, p. 470.

[7] Dall, I, 139; Gordon, I, 217; Mathiassen, p. 210; Whymper, I, 171; Stefánsson, VI, 227; III, 256; Rasmussen, III, 80; Peary, II, 131; Nelson, I, 81; Hutton, pp. 115, 116; Birket-Smith, III, 187; Astrup, pp. 275, 147, 76; Amundsen, II, 175.

[8] Rasmussen, I, 157.

[9] Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 144.

[10] Dall, I, 139; Whymper, I, 171.

ments for their own use,[1] sometimes assisted in minor things, such as plaiting of the bowstrings, by women.[2] Both men[3] and women[4] make fishhooks, and men make spirally cut thongs,[5] while women make lighter thread and cords,[6] which are torn with the teeth.[7] The men make and mend nets,[8] sometimes assisted by women,[9] and the women make slings[10] and seines.[11]

There are regional differences in the manufacture of lamps, which in the eastern regions are made by the men,[12] in the west by women.[13] Pots are fashioned by the men in certain regions,[14] and again by the

[1] Birket-Smith, III, 187; Boas, I, 580, 564; Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 155, 130, 151; Mathiassen, p. 210; Whitney, p. 129; Saabye, p. 35; Nelson, I, 155; Leslie, p. 304; Holm, p. 60; Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 244; Egede, pp. 111, 112; Rink, I, 174; Porsild, p. 115.

[2] Parry, Vol. 2, p. 229.

[3] Lyon, II, 169.

[4] Langsdorf, Vol. 2, p. 63; Lyon, II, 169.

[5] C. L. Hooper, p. 56; Kane, I, Vol. 2, p. 132; Murdoch, I, 301; Tyrrell, p. 134; Bogoras, I, 229; Birket-Smith, III, 187, 193; I, 235, 251; Markham, I, 132; Boas, I, 564; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 154; Birket-Smith, II, 105.

[6] Tyrrell, p. 134; Holm, p. 60; Gordon, I, 219; Birket-Smith, II, 107; Moore, pp. 360, 361; Birket-Smith, III, 188; Koldewey, p. 225.

[7] Lyon, II, 121; *Northern Regions*, p. 186.

[8] Murdoch, I, 312; Markham, II, 182.

[9] Stefánsson, VI, 154.

[10] Langsdorf, Vol. 2, p. 63.

[11] Townsend, p. 86 (A.).

[12] Birket-Smith, II, 82 (Egd.); Boas, VII, 503; Mathiassen, p. 146 (Ig.); Turquetil, p. 427 (H.B.).

[13] Gordon, I, 216 (A.); Moore, pp. 360, 361 (St.L.Is.); Stefánsson, VI, 34 (C.G.).

[14] Stefánsson, VI, 102, 34 (C.G.); Stefánsson, V, 28; Jenness, III, 53 (Cop.); Boas, VII, 503, Birket-Smith, II, 82.

women.[1] The needle is another article which may be made by men[2] or women.[3] The ulu, or woman's knife,[4] is sharpened by men[5] or women.[6] The making of dog harness was the work of the women,[7] but seems to have been sometimes made[8] or mended[9] by men. Where weaving is done, which is chiefly in the western district, it is the work of the women.[10]

[1] Gordon, I, 216 (A.); II, 83 (A.); Nelson, I, 201 (B.St.); Stefánsson, VI, 312 (Langton Bay), 34 (C.G.); Stefánsson, V, 11 (A.); *Northern Regions*, p. 194.

[2] Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 316.

[3] Holm, p. 34; Thalbitzer, III, 513.

[4] Mason, III, 729.

[5] Stefánsson, VI, 203.

[6] Steensby, II, 337.

[7] Turner, I, 205; Dall, I, 163; Jenness, III, 185; Thalbitzer, III, 373.

[8] Peary, II, 131.

[9] Markham, I, 132; II, 182.

[10] Moore, pp. 360, 361 (St.L.Is.); Stefánsson, VI, 179 (C.G.); Packard, II, 270 (Lab.); Nelson, I, 202 (B.St.); Gordon, I, 209 (A.); Bushnell, p. 12 (B.St.); Barnum, p. 12 (A.).

CHAPTER VI

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

There is no private ownership of land among the Eskimo,[1] though the right to set nets in certain places is respected,[2] and food taken in the chase belongs to all who participated in the hunt.[3] The most generally recognized private property is the hunting appurtenances[4] and tools[5] of the men, the sewing implements of the women,[6] and the clothing of either sex.[7]

Household utensils may be owned jointly by the family[8] or by the women personally,[9] these and other useful objects making up the dower of the bride,[10] es-

[1] Hawkes, III, 25; Jenness, III, 91, 92; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 298; Walsh, p. 85.

[2] Nelson, I, 307.

[3] Birket-Smith, II, 138; Bessels, p. 873; Birket-Smith, I, 263; Rasmussen, II, 26; Bryant, p. 683; Jenness, III, 87, 90; Kroeber, pp. 270, 301; Leslie, p. 304; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 302; Peary, I, 385; Amdrup, p. 321; Smith, p. 214; Jenness, VIII, 547.

[4] Forbin, II, 65; Jenness, III, 88; Turner, I, 240; II, 106; Walsh, p. 84; Stupart, p. 103; Rink, III, 10; II, 23; Porsild, p. 249; Peary, II, 71; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 297; I, 108; Boas, VI, 601; Birket-Smith, I, 263; Bessels, p. 876.

[5] Thalbitzer, III, 472, 473; Rink, III, 10; II, 23; Porsild, p. 249; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 298; Jenness, III, 88.

[6] Thalbitzer, III, 511; Rink, III, 10; Nansen, II, 298; I, 109; Murdoch, I, 414; Jenness, III, 88, 89; Bessels, p. 876.

[7] Walsh, pp. 84, 85; Rink, III, 10; Nansen, I, 108; Kroeber, pp. 300, 301; Forbin, II, 65; Birket-Smith, I, 263; Bessels, p. 876.

[8] Rink, III, 10; Stupart, p. 103.

[9] Bessels, p. 876; Birket-Smith, I, 263; Jenness, III, 88, 89; Porsild, p. 250.

[10] Jenness, III, 88, 89; Bilby, pp. 74, 75; Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 145, 146; Graah, p. 117; Jenness, VII, 56; Rasmussen, I, 232; Rink, III, 24; Boas, I, 579.

pecially the lamp,[1] it being sometimes considered "peculiarly the possession of the women. The Eskimo have no phrase expressing a greater degree of misery than 'a woman without a lamp.' "[2]

The house of the Eskimo seems ordinarily to be the common property of the inmates,[3] though only for so long as they live in it.[4] Nansen says that the house, tent, and umiak might belong to the head of the house or to the members.[5] Generally the tent belongs to the man,[6] though there may be joint ownership, as in the case of the umiak,[7] which more often belongs to the master.[8] The kayak, used exclusively by the men, is naturally their personal property.[9] Dog teams and sledges, however, though usually the property of the hunter,[10] might be owned by the family jointly,[11] some of the dogs belonging to the wife,[12] while Parry found a woman to be the owner of a sledge[13] and of a kayak.[14]

[1] Murdoch, I, 75; Porsild, p. 219.

[2] Hough, p. 117.

[3] Birket-Smith, II, 138; III, 64; Kroeber, p. 301; Nansen, I, 109.

[4] Rasmussen, II, 25.

[5] Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 297.

[6] Egede, p. 118; Jenness, III, 88; Rink, III, 25; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 176.

[7] Rink, III, 24, 10; Bilby, p. 237.

[8] Egede, p. 118; Bilby, p. 118; Thalbitzer, I, 249; Rink, III, 25; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 176.

[9] Thalbitzer, III, 525; Stefánsson, VI, 250, 97; J. Simpson, p. 264.

[10] Bessels, p. 876; Birket-Smith, II, 242; Boas, I, 581.

[11] Stupart, p. 103.

[12] *Northern Regions*, p. 66; Birket-Smith, I, 263.

[13] Parry, Vol. 1, p. 178. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

Driftwood is considered to be the property of the person who carries it up to the beach.[1]

Though inheritance in Eskimo society does not play a very important part, owing to the fact that the individual owns very little,[2] and to the custom of leaving the personal belongings of the deceased on his grave,[3] the property of the father is ordinarily transmitted to grown sons[4] or to the nearest male relative,[5] though with it goes the obligation of caring for the dependents of the deceased.[6] If the man is murdered, the murderer must assume this responsibility.[7] Rink finds the only real hereditary goods to be the boat and the tent, and since both require almost as many skins annually as a hunter can procure during a year, they represent little personal gain.[8] Though Cranz[9] and Graah[10] specifically state that the daughters inherit nothing, other authors find the property to be distributed among all the children,[11] while Nelson finds that the sons receive the hunting implements and the

[1] Birket-Smith, II, 136; Rink, III, 28; Thalbitzer, III, 525.

[2] Nansen, I, 168.

[3] Jenness, III, 92; Gilbertson, p. 57; p. 76 of this work.

[4] Comer, p. 87; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 176; Graah, p. 121; Nelson, I, 307; Porter, p. 134; Rink, III, 25, 26; Stefánsson, VI, 152; Boas, I, 580, 581; Birket-Smith, II, 139.

[5] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 176; Rink, III, 25; Birket-Smith, II, 138, 139.

[6] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 176; Graah, p. 122; Jenness, III, 85; Birket-Smith, II, 139 (quoting Dalager).

[7] Payne, p. 224; Tyrrell, p. 160.

[8] Rink, III, 26.

[9] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 151.

[10] Graah, p. 121.

[11] Jenness, III, 92, 93; Light, pp. 369, 370.

daughters inherit the household utensils.[1] The widow inherits nothing,[2] but retains possession of the articles of her dower.[3]

The vocation of angakok is considered to be to a certain extent hereditary among the western groups, and may be transferred to a son or a daughter who possesses the necessary qualifications.[4] According to Aldrich, only sons may inherit this.[5] Magic formulas are personal property and may be sold[6] or bequeathed.[7]

[1] Nelson, I, 307.

[2] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 177; Murdoch, I, 414; Lyon, II, 385.

[3] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 173; Murdoch, I, 414; Birket-Smith, II, 138, 139.

[4] Jenness, III, 92, 93 (Cop.); Kelly, p. 22 (A.).

[5] Aldrich, p. 168. [6] Thalbitzer, I, 262, 269. [7] Rasmussen, I, 137.

CHAPTER VII

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENT

Despite the fact that some of the earlier investigators report the dress of men and women among the Eskimo to be practically indistinguishable,[1] there are many differences. Perhaps the variation most generally noted is the presence of appendages on the front and back of the woman's upper garment,[2] which are more abbreviated on the frocks of the men or entirely absent. This difference is not quite universal, however, at Winter Island and Iglulik there being no perceptible difference in the garments of the two sexes in this regard,[3] while in the extreme west, we have the distinction that the women's parkas are slit up farther on the sides than are the men's.[4] For Greenland there

[1] Ross, II, Vol. 1, p. 185; Nares, Vol. 1, p. 41; Cook, Vol. 6, p. 337; Bushnell, p. 7.

[2] Hind, p. 258; Wallace, pp. 219, 220 (Lab.); Turner, I, 209, 211 (U.); Thalbitzer, III, 571 (E.G.); Steensby, II, 340 (Gr.); Richardson, p. 211 (Mac.); Packard, II, 200, 271 (Lab.); Murdoch, I, 110, 111 (Pt.B.); Mikkelsen, II, 452 (A.); Lyon, II, 312 (Ig.); Low, p. 179; Kumlien, p. 23 (C.Sd.); *Journal* (1818), p. 35; Hawkes, III, 56, 38 (Lab.); Gilder, p. 139 (K.Wm.L.); Dall, I, 141; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 128; Boas, III, 102, 103; II, 111; Birket-Smith, I, 96, 214 (C.E.); Bellot, p. 53 (Gr.); Petitot, II, 57; Ellis, pp. 136, 232; Curtis, p. 383 (Lab.); Stefánsson, VI, 163; J. Simpson, p. 244 (Pt.B.); Petitot, I, 7; Coats, pp. 73, 74 (H.B.); Rae, p. 140 (R.B.); Boas, I, 556; Saabye, p. 12; Mathiassen, p. 186.

[3] Thalbitzer, III, 571.

[4] Aldrich, p. 66 (A.); Petroff, p. 127 (A.); Nelson, I, 35 (B.St.); Kelly, p. 17 (A.); Porter, p. 150 (A.).

has been a change due to Danish influence, the women's garments having been shortened.[1]

An almost equally common distinction is the wide hood at the back of the woman's frock, for the purpose of cradling the child.[2] Some authors found the child to be carried inside the garment itself,[3] however, in which case the width of the jacket is noticeably greater.[4] Hatt, observing this roominess in the older type of woman's garment, gives as its purpose the facilitation of the frequently occurring horizontal movements accompanying women's work (rowing, skin-scraping, etc.).[5] The huge coiffure of the women is thought to be the reason for the larger hood in some instances.[6] For the western area we find both the garment and the hood to be large.[7]

[1] Packard, II, 271; Rink, I, 183.

[2] Kroeber, p. 291 (S.S.); Greely, Vol. 1, p. 32; Thalbitzer, III, 570 (Gr.); Stupart, p. 97 (Lab.); Rasmussen, I, 5 (L.I.); Rae, p. 140 (R.B.); M'Keevor, p. 32 (Sav.Is.); Lewis, p. 53; Light, p. 186; Holm, p. 32 (Ang.); Franklin, I, 19 (Sav.Is.); Astrup, p. 87 (S.S.); *Account of Voyage for the N.W. Passage*, p. 31 (H.St.); Ellis, p. 136 (Sav.Is.); Lyon, pp. 19, 20 (Sav.Is.), 304 (Ig.); Wilson, pp. 192, 193; Turquetil, p. 428; Leslie, p. 298; Franklin, II, 118, 119 (Colville Is.); Bessels, p. 865 (Gr., S.S.); Coats, pp. 73, 74 (H.B.); Porter, p. 150 (A.); Franklin, III, 433 (Mac.); Thalbitzer, III, 580 (from Heckla St. east to Gr.); C. L. Hooper, p. 109; Petitot, II, 37 (A.).

[3] Jenness, III, 168 (Cop.); Kumlien, p. 24 (C.Sd.); Murdoch, I, 416 (Pt.B.); Nansen, I, 24; Rosse, p. 194; Stefánsson, VI, 246 (Vic.Is., Mac.); Thalbitzer, III, 580 (West.); Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 312 (Net.); Saabye, p. 259; Porter, p. 137 (A.); T. Simpson, p. 121 (Camden Bay).

[4] Birket-Smith, I, 213, 214 (C.E.); Kelly, p. 17 (A.); Thalbitzer, III, 570, 580 (Sav.Is.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 128 (Gr.); Egede, p. 132 (Gr.); Petitot, I, 7 (between Cape Bathurst and Colville).

[5] Birket-Smith, II, 193 (quoting Hatt, p. 92).

[6] Petitot, II, 57 (Cape Bathurst); I, 7 (between Bathurst and Colville); Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 243.

[7] J. Simpson, p. 244 (Pt.B.); Jenness, VIII, 546 (Cop.).

While the men's trousers usually reach approximately to the knee,[1] the breeches of the women are often very short, being really only legless trunks,[2] often supplemented by a sort of legging which covers the thigh from the top of the boot to the lower edge of the trousers.[3] This wrapping may be omitted,[4] except in severe weather,[5] the naked thigh being used as a scraping-board in caring for skins.[6]

In some districts we find the women's very long boots making up for the shortness of the breeches,[7] the boots often differing from the men's in being much

[1] Gordon, I, 208 (A.); Boas, I, 554; Lyon, II, 313 (Ig.); Hall, I, 579; Holm, p. 33 (Ang.); Ekblaw, p. 181; Bessels, p. 865 (Gr., S.S.); Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 243; Kroeber, pp. 291, 292 (S.S.); Mutch, p. 488; Petitot, II, 57 (Cape Bathurst); B. W. M., p. 164 (Cop.); Thalbitzer, III, 570 (E.Gr.); Steensby, II, 333; Rasmussen, II, 18 (Gr.); Rae, p. 139 (R.B.).

[2] Steensby, II, 333 (Gr.); Coats, pp. 73, 74 (H.B.); Tyrrell, p. 124 (B.L.); Thalbitzer, III, 570, 571 (E.Gr.); Sonntag, p. 66; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 275 (W.Gr.); I, 24; Lyon, II, 19 (Sav.Is.); Kroeber, pp. 293, 295, 291 (S.S.); Holm, p. 33 (Ang.); Hall, I, 578; Greeley, Vol. 1, p. 32 (Gr.); Gordon, I, 208 (A.); Gilder, p. 254 (H.St.); Ekblaw, p. 182 (Gr.); B. W. M., p. 164 (Cop.); Boas, III, 104 (R.B., Ch.In.), 54 (C.Sd.), 356 (Baf.L.); I, 554, 556; Astrup, p. 87 (S.S.); Stefánsson, VI, 119 (C.G.); Turner, I, 213 (U.); Birket-Smith, III, 104 (Thule).

[3] Boas, I, 554, 556; III, 54 (Cumberland Sd.), 49 (C.S. south to Hudson St. and west to Southampton Is.), 356 (Baffin Land); Gilder, p. 254 (H.St.); Hall, I, 578; Kumlien, p. 23 (C.Sd.); Lyon, I, 62 (S.Is.); II, 19, 20 (Sav.Is.) 294 (Ig.); Stefánsson, VI, 232 (Vic.Is.); Mathiassen, p. 185 (Ig.).

[4] Thalbitzer, III, 570, 571 (E.G.).

[5] Holm, p. 33 (Ang.).

[6] Kumlien, p. 23 (C.Sd.).

[7] Lyon, II, 316 (Ig.); Walsh, p. 62 (Gr.); Light, p. 191 (Felix Harbor); Kroeber, pp. 295, 291 (S.S.); B. W. M., p. 164 (Cop.); Thalbitzer, III, 570, 571, 581 (E.Gr.); Sonntag, p. 66; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 275 (W.Gr.); Turquetil, p. 428 (H.B.); Stefánsson, VI, 119, 246, 232; Rasmussen, I, 115 (B.G.); *Northern Regions*, 193; M'Keevor, p. 32 (Sav.Is.); Bessels, p. 865 (Gr.,S.S.); Turner, I, 213 (U.); Birket-Smith, III, 29, 104 (Gr.); Rasmussen, II, 18 (Gr.).

larger in circumference.[1] The tops of these are sometimes distended by sticks of whalebone[2] or sealskin,[3] some authors noting that children were sometimes placed in the boot,[4] others finding them used as pockets for various purposes.[5] Sometimes the fulness is confined to a pouch at the knee[6] or to slight fulness at the top.[7] The fashioning of the lower boot for men and women is much alike.[8]

Especially in the western area there is a tendency for women to have one lower garment consisting of trousers and boots.[9] While the men in this region

[1] Jenness, VIII, 546; Ellis, pp. 136 (Sav.Is.), 232 (northwest of Hudson Bay); Light, p. 191 (Felix Harbor); Thalbitzer, III, 576, 581 (from Davis St. west across island of Hudson Bay through strait up to Cape Bathurst, also Davis St. on Baffin Land); Stefánsson, VI, 119 (C.G.); Parry, Vol. 2, p. 175 (Ig.); M'Keevor, p. 32 (Sav.Is.); Leslie, p. 298; Holm, p. 33 (Ang.); Rink, II, 13; Hearne, p. 189 (Cop.); Curtis, p. 383 (Lab.); B. W. M., p. 164 (Cop.); Steensby, II, 333; Coats, pp. 73, 74 (H.B.); Boas, III, 356 (S.S.); I, 556 (D.St.); Muir, p. 27 (St.L.Is.).

[2] Ellis, p. 136 (Sav.Is.); M'Keevor, p. 32 (Sav.Is.); Hearne, p. 189 (D.St.).

[3] Steensby, II, 336 (Gr.).

[4] Coats, pp. 73, 74 (H.B.); Ellis, p. 136 (Sav.Is.); Parry, Vol. 2, pp. 175, 176 (Lab.); M'Keevor, p. 32 (Sav.Is.); Rink, II, 13 (Lab., C.); Curtis, p. 383 (Lab.); Boas, I, 557.

[5] Light, p. 192 (Felix Harbor); Parry, Vol. 2, pp. 176 (Ig.), 227 (Sturges Bourne Is.); Leslie, p. 298; Hutton, p. 109 (Lab.); Chappell, p. 65 (H.B.).

[6] Boas, pp. 104 (R.B., Ch.In.), 356 (west of H.B.); Turquetil, p. 428 (H.B.); *Northern Regions*, pp. 192, 193; Lyon, II, 316; Jenness, VII, 24 (C.G.); Birket-Smith, I, 215 (C.E.); Mathiassen, p. 179 (Ig.).

[7] Hawkes, III, 41 (Lab.).

[8] Thalbitzer, III, 584 (E.Gr.); Holm, p. 33 (Ang.); Tyrrell, p. 124 (B.L.); Egede, p. 133 (Gr.); Hawkes, III, 41 (Lab.); Lyon, II, 20 (Sav.Is.).

[9] Porter, p. 150 (A.); Whymper, I, 168 (A.); Stefánsson, VI, 117 (west of Coronation Gulf everywhere); J. Simpson, p. 244 (Pt.B.); Petitot, I, 7; Nelson, I, 30 (B.St.); Murdoch, I, 111, 112 (Pt.B.); Kelly, p. 17 (A.); Ray, p. 65 (Pt.B.); Dall, I, 141 (A).; Mathiassen, p. 181 (S.Is.).

customarily wear knee-length trousers[1] or breeches reaching to the ankle,[2] the women's style of garment was formerly worn by the men,[3] and on occasion a man may still be seen with it.[4] In the islands of Bering Strait and in Siberia an all-enveloping one-piece suit is worn by the women.[5]

In the western district, too, we find a distinction in the type of belt used by men and women, two authors reporting them to be of woven feathers for the men and of wolverine toes for the women,[6] while from the lower Kuskokwim to the Arctic coast a belt of reindeer incisors is worn by the women, while men and boys wear various kinds, preferring one of the feet and claws of the wolverine or wolf.[7]

As a covering for the head we find the hood to be generally used by both sexes,[8] though the women in Greenland wrap the head in a skin kerchief,[9] as do the women of Point Barrow when they have a child in the hood.[10] Men sometimes wear caps[11] or ear flaps attached to a band around the head.[12]

[1] Dall, I, 141 (A.); Ray, p. 65 (Pt.B.); Stefánsson, VI, 117 (C.G.); Murdoch, I, 111 (Pt.B.).

[2] Nelson, I, 30 (B.St.). [3] Stefánsson, VI, 163.

[4] Murdoch, I, 111 (Pt.B.); Stefánsson, VI, 206 (east of Pt. Barrow), 264 (Dease River).

[5] Thalbitzer, III, 580; Nelson, I, 30 (Diomede Is.); Moore, p. 342 (St.L.Is.).

[6] Ray, p. 65; Murdoch, I, 136 (Pt.B.).

[7] Nelson, I, 62 (B.St.). [8] Murdoch, I, 112 (Pt.B.).

[9] Thalbitzer, III, 602 (E.Gr.); Rink, I, 183 (Gr.); Holm, p. 31 (Ang.).

[10] Murdoch, I, 112 (Pt.B.).

[11] Thalbitzer, III, 587. [12] Nelson, I, 37, 38.

While some authors find the men and women both to be entirely naked when inside the hut,[1] others find scanty drawers to be worn by both sexes,[2] particularly by the women.[3] In style, the women's tend to be more abbreviated than the men's.[4]

Materials used in the clothing of the two sexes are found to be much the same,[5] and though they may differ seasonally and regionally[6] they do not lend themselves to classification except in so far as the stronger and warmer materials are used by the hunters,[7] the women having less use for special costumes.[8] Thus, in Greenland, bearskin is much used for making men's trousers,[9] while for their stockings hareskin is best adapted.[10] On the other hand, the less durable foxskin is more often used by women,[11] and at Iglulik

[1] Egede, p. 126; Kane, I, Vol. 2, pp. 113, 114 (Et.).

[2] Bessels, p. 868 (S.S.); Nansen, II, Vol. 1, p. 335 (Gr.); I, 25.

[3] Thalbitzer, III, 566 (E.Gr.); Birket-Smith, III, 95 (Gr.); Steensby, II, 333.

[4] Saabye, p. 250 (Gr.); Nansen, II, Vol. 1, p. 338 (Gr.); Holm, p. 29 (Ang.).

[5] Franklin, I, 19 (Sav.Is.); Gordon, II, 78, 79; Murdoch, I, 119 (Pt.B.); Hawkes, III, 50 (Lab.); *Northern Regions*, p. 192.

[6] Parry, Vol. 1, p. 202 (Nottingham Is., H.St.); Hensen, pp. 191, 192; Moore, p. 343 (St.L.Is.); Muir, p. 27 (St.L.Is.); Ekblaw, p. 182 (Gr.); Astrup, p. 135; Birket-Smith, III, 95 (Gr.); Boas, I, 554; Hawkes, III, 39 (Lab.); C. L. Hooper, p. 102.

[7] Nelson, I, 40; Thalbitzer, III, 574; Kumlien, pp. 22, 23; Ekblaw, pp. 183, 181, 182; Hawkes, III, 39; Birket-Smith, II, 177.

[8] Birket-Smith, I, 99.

[9] Thalbitzer, III, 566 (E.Gr.); Rasmussen, II, 18 (Gr.); Davis, pp. 445, 446 (Et.).

[10] Astrup, p. 89 (S.S.); Ekblaw, pp. 181, 182.

[11] Turner, I, 218 (U.); MacMillan, II, 175 (S.S.); Birket-Smith, III, 104 (Thule).

women never wear socks or trousers of sealskin.[1] On the whole, the suitability of the various types of skins determines their choice, rather than any restriction as to the sex of the wearer.

That the women use more ornamentation in the making of their own clothing than in that of the men has been widely observed.[2] Men's clothing is often ornamented, however, a favorite decoration in the western region being the tail of an animal attached to the back of the coat.[3] In Greenland the use of colored skins provides ornamentation, particularly for the women's costumes,[4] the boots showing the highest specialization,[5] but bandings of skins in contrasting colors are used throughout the Eskimo territory,[6] the women's clothing sometimes showing one combination of colors and the men's another.[7]

Fringe, beading, and other attachments are more

[1] Mathiassen, p. 181.

[2] Bilby, p. 110 (Baf.L.); Stefánsson, VI, 246 (Vic.Is.); M'Keevor, p. 32 (Sav.Is.); Birket-Smith, I, 99 (C.E.); Boas, I, 556 (Central); Hawkes, III, 39, 101, 41 (Lab.); Holm, p. 33 (Ang.); Saabye, p. 12 (Gr.); Tyrrell, p. 124 (B.L.); *Journal* (1818), p. 35; Birket-Smith, II, 126, 127 (Egd.); Kroeber, p. 294 (S.S.); Walsh, p. 62 (Gr.); Nelson, I, 30 (St.L.Is.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 129 (Gr.).

[3] Nelson, I, 324 (B.St.); Stefánsson, VI, 175, 176, 121 (C.G.), 146 (Mac.); Collinson, III, 130, 131; B. W. M., pp. 163, 164 (Cop.).

[4] Kroeber, p. 294; Walsh, p. 62 (Gr.); Rink, I, 273, 274 (Gr.); Birket-Smith, III, 103 (Gr.); Seward, p. 57 (Gr.); Sonntag, p. 173; Birket-Smith, II, 104, 126, 127 (Egd.); Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 39 (Upernivik); Saabye, p. 12 (Gr.).

[5] Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 37 (Upernivik); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 128; Murdoch, II, 122 Gr. (quoting Fru Signe Rink); Birket-Smith, II, 206, 207 (Egd.); Hawkes, III, 40.

[6] Kroeber, pp. 291, 292; Hawkes, III, 101; M'Keevor, p. 32; Stefánsson, VI, 246, 149, 292.

[7] Stefánsson, VI, 324; Murdoch, I, 115; Hovey, p. 369.

often used by women.[1] The wearing of bead necklaces, bracelets, and ring and ear ornaments is principally confined to the women,[2] while in some localities bracelets are universal among both men and women,[3] the men finding them useful in closing the cuffs of the kayak frock when at sea.[4] Formerly the wearing of ornaments among the Eskimo was confined entirely to the men,[5] and in regions less accessible to outside influence we find the women still almost[6] or entirely[7] without ornaments of this kind.

Perhaps the best-known type of headdress for women is the single topknot almost universal in Greenland,[8] though elsewhere the simple coiffure with center parting and long plaits or braids is found to be more common.[9] Another widespread method of

[1] Nelson, I, 52 (Lower Yukon); Thalbitzer, III, 601; Stefánsson, VI, 207; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 184 (Ig.); Murdoch, I, 149; Hawkes, III, 39, 40; Bilby, p. 110 (Baf.L.); Boas, I, 556, 560; Tyrrell, p. 124.

[2] Whymper, I, 167, 168; Birket-Smith, II, 216; Beechey, p. 251 (Chamisso Is.); Elliott, II, 391; Hall, I, 123, 578; Hawkes, III, 39, 40; Kroeber, p. 291; Lanman, p. 72 (Disco); Lyon, II, 74, 120;. Murdoch, I, 148, 149; Nelson, I, 56; Petroff, p. 129; Stefánsson, VI, 157, 164; Thalbitzer, pp. 566, 601 (A.), 613 (E.Gr.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 129.

[3] Thalbitzer, III, 604 (E.Gr.); Murdoch, I, 149 (Pt.B.).

[4] Nelson, I, 58 (B.St.).

[5] *Northern Regions*, pp. 191, 192.

[6] Steensby, II, 345 (Polar Esk.).

[7] Peary, I, 382.

[8] Holm, pp. 32, 33 (Ang.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 129 (Gr.); Birket-Smith, II, 213 (Egd.); III, 53 (Gr.); Graah, p. 116 (E.Gr.); Greely, Vol. 1, p. 33 (Gr.); Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 37 (Upernivik); Holm, p. 122 (Ang.); *Journal* (1818), p. 35; Nansen, I, 28; II, Vol. 2, p. 278 (W.Gr.); T. Simpson, p. 121 (Camden Bay); Sonntag, p. 66; Thalbitzer, III, 603 (Ang.); Steensby, II, 345; Astrup, p. 75 (S.S.).

[9] Boas, I, 602; Beechey, p. 226 (Cape Mulgrave); Lyon, II, 317, 318 (Ig.); Wallace, p. 219 (Lab.); Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, p. 252 (St.L.Is.); Thalbitzer, III, 603 (A.); Turner, I, 101 (U).; Stefánsson, VI, 248, 121; J. Simpson, p. 240

hair arrangement divides it into three bunches, one being made into a chignon with two braids or clubs hanging at the sides.[1] Some women are found to wear the hair loose.[2] In Greenland a woman cut her hair only in deepest mourning,[3] and Cranz states that it was disgraceful for a woman to cut her hair.[4] Also among the Itivimiut it is never cut.[5] Women's hair is found to be short in some districts,[6] however.

The tonsure of the Eskimo men of Asiatic Russia[7] has been adopted by the more western groups[8] but with many variations in the cut of the locks remaining. The statement that men wear the hair short

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(Pt.B.); Parry, Vol. 1, pp. 179, 180 (west coast Baffin Bay); Nelson, I, 57, 58; Murdoch, I, 141; Lyon, I, 62 (S.Is.); Low, p. 180 (C.E.); Jochelson, p. 211 (Asia); Hall, I, 110; Dall, I, 140; Boas, III, 107 (Ch.In.); Birket-Smith, I, 226 (C.E.); Bilby, p. 111; Elliott, II, 377; C. L. Hooper, p. 101; Moore, p. 344 (St.L.-Is.); Rae, p. 139 (R.B.); Porter, p. 151 (A.).

[1] Boas, I, 558 (D.St., H.B.); Tyrrell, p. 123 (B.L.); Thalbitzer, III, 603 (Southampton Is. and west coast Hudson Bay); Stefánsson, VI, 344 (Kittegaryuit); Petitot, I, 21 (Cape Bathurst and Colville); Bilby, p. 111 (Baf.L.); Franklin, III, 433 (Mac.); Low, p. 180 (Cumberland Gulf); Murdoch, I, 141 (Mac.).

[2] Egede, p. 62; Cook, Vol. 6, p. 338 (Prince Wm. Sd.); Stefánsson, VI, 232 (Vic.Is.); Lyon, II, 17.

[3] Parry, Vol. 2, p. 173 (Ig.); Saabye, p. 13 (Gr.).

[4] Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 128, 129. [5] Turner, II, 100.

[6] Low, p. 180 (E.H.B.); Holm, p. 27 (Ang.).

[7] Hanbury, p. 143; W. H. Hooper, p. 37 (S.); Aldrich, p. 45; Jockelson, p. 211.

[8] Beechey, p. 210 (St.L.Is.); Thalbitzer, III, 601 (A. to Mackenzie); Petitot, I, 21 (C. Bathurst and Colville); Stefánsson, VI, 345 (Kittegaryuit), 180; Cook, Vol. 6, p. 400 (Besborough Is.); Elliott, II, 376 (Nooshagnk); Hearne, p. 192 (Coppermine R.); C. L. Hooper, p. 101; Ray, p. 37; Murdoch, I, 140 (Pt.B.); Porter, p. 151; Nelson, I, 57; Nordinskiold, Vol. 2, p. 252 (St.L.Is.); Petitot, II, 146 (Ft. MacPherson), 23 (Ft. And.); Kelly, p. 15; Dease and Simpson, p. 221 (Pt.B.).

without distinction as to the style of the cut is made by many authors.[1] Hair cut across the forehead above the eyebrows is common in many regions,[2] and the back hair may be long.[3] Long hair always hangs loose in the back, but if not cut in front (and in some localities it is never cut)[4] it may be confined by a halter-like arrangement.[5] On Southampton Island men are found to wear the front hair in a top-knot.[6] All the foregoing types of hair arrangement for men (with the exception of the last) are found among the Caribou Eskimo.[7] While there is great regional variation in the hairdress of both men and women, and considerable individual variation within these regions, we find that there is always a difference in the styles of the two sexes. Women's hair tends to be more confined, perhaps owing to the fact that the

[1] Muir, p. 56 (St.L.Is.); Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 128, 129 (Gr.); Bilby, p. 66 (Baf.L.); Kelly, p. 15; Tyrrell, p. 123 (B.L.); M'Clintock, p. 238 (K.Wm.L.); Hanbury, p. 143 (Ogden Bay to Melville Sd.).

[2] Wallace, p. 219 (Lab.); Tyrrell, p. 123 (B.L.); Birket-Smith, II, 213 (Egd.); Stefánsson, VI, 232 (Vic.Is.); Saabye, p. 13 (Gr.); Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 128, 129 (Gr.); Bilby, p. 66 (Baf.L.); Birket-Smith, I, 225 (C.E.); Boas, I, 558 (D.St., H.B.); Nansen, II, Vol. 1, p. 348 (Gr.); C. L. Hooper, p. 101; Ray, p. 37 (Pt.B.).

[3] Stefánsson, VI, 121, 232 (Vic.Is.); Sonntag, p. 66; Astrup, pp. 74, 75 (S.S.); Boas, I, 558 (D.St., H.B.); VII, 467 (Ch.In.); Bushnell, p. 11 (Oonalashka); Holm, pp. 27, 32, 33 (Ang.); W. H. Hooper, p. 257 (Icy Reef); Lyon, II, 17, 317, 318 (Ig.); Parry, Vol. 2, p. 173 (Ig.); Rasmussen, III, 38; Steensby, II, 345.

[4] Holm, III, 27.

[5] Birket-Smith, III, 52 (Ang.); Graah, p. 116 (E.Gr.); Thalbitzer, III, 600 (E.Gr.); Holm, p. 32 (Ang.); Boas, I, 558 (D.St., H.B.); Astrup, p. 75 (S.S.); Steensby, II, 345; Nansen, II, Vol. 1, p. 348; I, 27 (E.Gr.).

[6] Boas, VII, 475; Lyon, I, 62.

[7] Birket-Smith, I, 225.

stooping posture assumed at her tasks necessitates having the hair out of the way.

The use of ornament in the hairdress is much more common among the women, especially the use of strings of beads.[1] Strips of skin,[2] which may have a utilitarian value as well, and brass head bands[3] are also fairly common.

When beads are used on the men's hair, which is very seldom, they are strung on the hair itself[4] or attached to a strip of skin.[5] The hair halters of the men, already mentioned, are assumed to be utilitarian merely.

Tattooing is universal among Eskimo women[6] with

[1] Kotzebue, Vol. 1, p. 227 (A.); Whymper, I, 167, 168 (Yukon River); Franklin, II, 118, 119 (Colville Is.); Curtis, p. 383 (Lab.); Franklin, III, 433 (Mac.); Stefánsson, VI, 344; Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 128, 129 (Gr.); Jockelson, p. 211 (S.); Holm, pp. 32, 33 (Ang.); Turner, II, 101; J. Simpson, p. 240 (Pt.B.); Nelson, I, 58 (B.St.); Murdoch, I, 141 (Pt.B.); Saabye, p. 13 (Gr.); C. L. Hooper, p. 101; Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, p. 252 (St.L.Is.); Moore, p. 344 (St.L.Is.); Dall, I, 140 (A).

[2] Nansen, II, Vol. 1, pp. 348, 349 (Gr.); Elliott, II, 376 (Nooskagak); Saabye, p. 13 (Gr.); Low, p. 180 (C.E.); Birket-Smith, I, 226 (C.E.); Dall, I, 140 (A.); Lyon, II, 317, 318 (Ig.); Stefánsson, VI, 344; Graah, p. 116 (E.Gr.); Thalbitzer, III, 603 (E.Gr.); Back, I, 290.

[3] Boas, III, 107 (Ch.In.); Hall, I, 386; Birket-Smith, I, 229 (C.E.); Boas, I, 558 (D.St., H.B.); Curtis, p. 383 (Lab.); Hanbury, p. 66 (H.B.).

[4] Thalbitzer, III, 600 (E.G.); Nelson, I, 52 (B.St.).

[5] Murdoch, I, 142 (Pt.B.).

[6] Hall, I, 570; Hawkes, III, 114, 115, 105 (Lab.); Hanbury, pp. 143 (Ogden Bay), 66; Graah, pp. 88, 116 (E.Gr.); Egede, p. 133 (Gr.); Gordon, II, 81, 82; Gilder, p. 80 (K.Wm.L.); Franklin, III, 189; I, 355; Elliott, II, 377; De Nadaillac, p. 4; Dease and Simpson, p. 221 (Pt.B.); Davis, p. 450 (S.S.); Dall, IV, 89 (Kadiak Is., quoting Lisianski); I, 140; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 129 (Gr.); Cook, Vol. 6, pp. 440 (Besbarough Is.), 340 (Prince Wm. Sd.), 467; Collinson, II, 285 (Cambridge Bay); I, 201 (Vic.Is.); Chappell, p. 60; Bushnell, p. 11 (Oonalashka); Boas, VII, 474, 470 (S.Is.); III, 108; I, 561; Birket-Smith, III, 52; II, 215; I, 227 (C.E.); Beechey, pp. 254 (Choris Peninsula, Icy Cape), 240; Back I, 289; Amund-

the exception of those at Smith Sound[1] and the Polar Eskimo.[2] There is slight variation as to the time when this occurs, most authors finding it to be done at puberty.[3] All statements agree that a woman performs the operation,[4] which is to be expected since it is done by sewing.[5] Tattooing seems to be undergone with some idea of pleasing the opposite sex,[6] though some authors state it to be connected with welfare in the after-life.[7]

Especially among the western Eskimo, tattooing may occur among the men,[8] but is much more limited

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sen, II, Vol. 1, p. 168 (Net.); Aldrich, pp. 68, 69 (A.); Dall, I, 387 (Aleutians); Thalbitzer, III, 620, 629 (E.Gr.); Turner, II, 133 (Itivimiut), 196; Egede, p. 134; Franklin, II, 120 (Colville Is.); Whymper, I, 167, 168; Tremblay, p. 125; Stupart, p. 97 (Lab.); Stockton, p. 197; Stefánsson, VI, 163, 155, 232 (Vic.Is.); J. Simpson, p. 241 (Pt.B.); T. Simpson, p. 157 (Pt.B.); Sauer, pp. 155 (Oonalashka), 173 (Kadiak Is.); Saabye, pp. 13, 14 (Gr.); Rosse, p. 197; Ross, II, 180; Rink, I, 151; Richardson, p. 211; Rae, p. 139 (R.B.); Petitot, II, 69; I, 7 (between Cape Bathurst and Colville); Parry, Vol. 2, p. 177 (Ig.), Vol. 1, p. 224 (Sturges Bourne Is.), Vol. 1, p. 180 (River Clyde, Baf.L.); *Northern Regions*, p. 185; Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, pp. 232, 233 (Pt.Clarence); Nelson, I, 50; Nansen, II, 198; Murdoch, I, 138, 139, 140; M'Keevor, p. 46 (Sav.Is.); M'Clure, p. 49 (Pt.B.); M'Clintock, p. 238 (K.Wm.L.); Lyon, II, 121; I, 62 (S.Is.); Leslie, p. 299; Kumlien, p. 26; Kotzebue, Vol. 1, pp. 253 (East Cape, Asia), 191 (St.L.Is.); King, Vol. 2, pp. 7, 8 (Lake Franklin); Kelly, pp. 15, 16; W. H. Hooper, pp. 224 (Pt.B.), 37 (S.); Holm, p. 28 (Ang.); Hoffman, p. 781 (Melville Pen. quoting Parry); Fisher, p. 280; Rundall, p. 137.

[1] Bessels, p. 875 (S.S.); Murdoch, I, 140 (S.S.). [2] Steensby, II, 388.

[3] Hawkes, III, 115; Beechey, p. 254; Boas, I, 561; VII, 470, 474; Chappell, p. 60; Rosse, p. 197.

[4] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 129; Saabye, p. 14; Thalbitzer, III, 600, 610; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 177 (Ig.).

[5] Leslie, p. 299; Boas, VII, 470; Murdoch, I, 139; Birket-Smith, III, 52.

[6] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 129; Saabye, p. 14; Hoffman, p. 781 (quoting Parry).

[7] Egede, p. 133; Hall, I, 570.

[8] Hawkes, III, 105, 106 (Lab.); Dall, I, 380, 381 (Asia); Holm, p. 28 (Ang.).

both as to numbers of men tattooed and amount of tattooing on each.[1] For men, the tattoo marks have a definite significance, the explanations differing, but that it was a mark of the man's prowess in the hunt[2] seems to be the most general opinion. Other accounts state it to be a good luck symbol,[3] the souvenir of a deceased person,[4] the representation of labrets no longer worn,[5] or the brand of a murderer.[6] For men, then, tattooing seems to have something of a "religious significance, since probably all these explanations refer to the souls of the deceased (animal or human).[7]"

In the western territory, labrets formerly were widely used among the men,[8] the holes being made at puberty.[9] Murdoch suggests that the practice may formerly have had a greater significance than mere

[1] Birket-Smith, II, 215; III, 52; Graah, p. 116.

[2] Kelly, p. 16; Stefánsson, VI, 168; III, 367; Murdoch, I, 139; W. H. Hooper, p. 37 (S.); Hoffman, p. 782; Gordon, II, 83.

[3] Moore, p. 345 (St.L.Is.); Holm, p. 29 (Ang.); Gordon, II, 81.

[4] Parry, Vol. 2, p. 178 (Ig.).

[5] Nelson, I, 45 (St.L.Is.).

[6] Petitot, II, 100.

[7] Thalbitzer, III, 610.

[8] Kelly, p. 15; Stefánsson, VI, 163, 155; I, 39; J. Simpson, p. 239 (Pt.B.); T. Simpson, p. 119 (Camden Bay); Sauer, p. 155 (Oonalashka); Richardson, p. 210 (Bering to Mac.); Rasmussen, I, p. 292 (picture) (Baillie Is.); Porter, 151; Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, p. 232 (Pt. Clarence); Nelson, I, 48, 45 (B.St.); Murdoch, I, 142 (Pt.B.); M'Clure, p. 49 (Pt.B.); Kotzebue, Vol. 1, p. 227 (A).; Jenness, II, 93 (A).; W. H. Hooper, p. 224 (Pt.B.); Gordon, I, 210; Franklin, III, 432 (Mac.); Dease and Simpson, pp. 221 (Pt.B.), 216 (Camden Bay); Dall, IV, 125; I, 140; Beechey, pp. 477 (Norton Sd. to Mac.), 240 (Icy Cape), 263 (Pt.B.); Aldrich, p. 69; Petroff, p. 126 (between Kotzebue Sd. and Kuskokwim).

[9] Dall, I, 140; Nelson, I, 48; Murdoch, I, 142; Franklin, III, 432; Stefánsson, I, 39; J. Simpson, p. 241.

ornamentation,[1] while Dall finds that a feast accompanies the ceremony.[2]

For a limited territory in the extreme west, we find that in very early times women also wore labrets,[3] having the holes close together in the lower lip rather than at the corners of the mouth as among the men.[4] Beechey found the women to wear labrets and the men to be without them.[5]

Fastening of ornaments to a hole in the septum of the nose is mentioned for women in the western territory,[6] and the women also more commonly have the ears pierced for purposes of ornamentation,[7] though men are found in some places to have these.[8]

[1] Murdoch, I, 143.

[2] Dall, I, 141.

[3] Cook, Vol. 6, pp. 439 (Besborough Is.), 339 (Prince Wm.Sd.); Bushnell, p. 11 (Oonalashka); Barnum, p. 15; Dall, I, 140 (south of Yukon mouth).

[4] Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, p. 232 (Pt.Clarence); Barnum, p. 15; Dall, I, 140.

[5] Beechey, p. 477 (Prince Wm.Sd.).

[6] Beechey, p. 245 (Chamisso Is.); Nelson, I, 52; Rosse, p. 197 (Cape Blossom); Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, p. 233 (Pt.Clarence); Kelly, p. 16.

[7] Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, p. 233 (Pt.Clarence); Kelly, p. 16; Dall, I, 140.

[8] Nelson, I, 52; Bushnell, p. 8 (Prince Wm.Sd.).

CHAPTER VIII

NON-MATERIAL CULTURE

The name plays a tremendous part in the life of the Eskimo,[1] and a fact to be noted is the, to us, strange custom of the Eskimo of giving the same names indiscriminately to male or to female children.[2] This does not seem so strange when we realize that the child is named for the last-deceased relative of the parents, (in Iglulik, preferably a relative of the mother,[3]) and since the newborn child represents this "latest deceased" to his living relatives, not precisely as a reincarnation of the dead, but as his representative,[4] his name has the function of perpetuating the memory of the dead. The Cape York[5] and Smith Sound[6] groups name boys only for male relatives and vice versa, while in the Mackenzie district the deceased person has made his wishes known in this regard.[7]

For a limited group we find that a boy called by a woman's name must dress as a girl throughout child-

[1] Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 234.

[2] Boas, III, 480 (Pond's Bay); Jenness, III, 167 (Cop.); Mathiassen, p. 212 (Ig.); Turner, II, 108 (U.); I, 190 (U.); Stefánsson, III, 401; VI, 161; Lyon, II, 370 (Ig.); Kroeber, pp. 267, 268 (Baf.L.); Hutton, p. 87 (Lab.); Hawkes, III, 112 (Lab.); Boas, VII, 480 (Baf.L.); Birket-Smith, I, 282 (C.F.); Barnum, p. 21.

[3] Mathiassen, p. 212 (Ig.).

[4] Hawkes, II, 4.

[5] Boas, VII, 491.

[6] Kroeber, pp. 267, 268, 309.

[7] Stefánsson, VI, 364, 376.

hood, while a girl must dress as a boy.[1] That this is not more generally reported is perhaps due to the fact that children's garments are not easily distinguishable as to sex.[2]

The relationship terms in use indicate that the Eskimo "are more concerned with the nature of the relationship than with the sexes of the individuals themselves."[3] This would seem to show that there is a fundamental peculiarity in Eskimo ideology concerning sex, since the name even of a great hunter or of a famous shaman may be given to a person of the opposite sex.[4] The child is named by an old woman[5] or by a shaman.[6]

Though public opinion may properly be said to be the only governing factor[7] among the Eskimo, leadership is sometimes accorded to a head man,[8] but he acts more in the capacity of an adviser than as an administrator. Sometimes a group of old men convene to discuss the problems of the settlement,[9]

[1] Birket-Smith, I, 194, 282 (C.E.); Turquetil, p. 421 (H.B.).

[2] Hawkes, III, 114 (Lab.); Mathiassen, p. 186 (Ig.); Kroeber, p. 294 (S.S.); Murdoch, I, 112 (Pt.B.); Boas, III, 54 (C.Sd.); J. Simpson, p. 245 (Pt.B.).

[3] Jenness, III, 84.

[4] Boas, VII, 491.

[5] Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 234; Birket-Smith, II, 414.

[6] Petitot, II, 145.

[7] Dumbrava, pp. 18, 19 (Ang.); Jenness, VIII, 547; III, 86, 94 (Cop); Hawkes, III, 108 (Lab.); Stefánsson, III, 271; Bellot, p. 391; Steensby, II, 282; Nordenskiold, Vol. 2, p. 236.

[8] Holm, p. 57 (Ang.); C. L. Hooper, p. 107; Turner, I, 190 (U.); Low, p. 163; Hawkes, III, 110; Elliot, II, 390; Stockton, p. 194 (Pt.Hope); McLenegan, p. 75; Petroff, p. 125; Rasmussen, I, 312 (Pt.B.); Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 165.

[9] Rink, II, 29 (Kuskokwim River); Low, p. 165; Gilder, p. 242; Petroff, p. 126; Stefánsson, III, 286.

while Hawkes makes the statement that in Labrador the word of old men and women is final.[1]

A person usually held in great esteem in Eskimo society is the angakok,[2] who is at the same time priest, prophet, and physician.[3] That "shamanism has no dogmas of any kind"[4] makes it a subject very difficult of treatment, since "no particular forms are observed by the shaman, each creating his own forms or ceremonies."[5] "Almost every person who can do anything not fully understood by others, has more or less reputation as a shaman."[6] Any "man or woman can become angakok if shrewd enough to obtain a mental ascendancy over others."[7] There is no general rule as to who may become a shaman, but it is always "one who has the power to get into an ecstatic state and has trained himself to do so when circumstances demand and permit . . . . [also he] may help the population of the whole dwelling place to experience the ecstatic state."[8] "It is generally the best hunters who become magicians, men who are already in a position to command the respect of their fel-

[1] Hawkes, III, 117.

[2] Turner, I, 193; Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 235; Rasmussen, III, 126; Nansen, I, 283; Egede, p. 192; Bryant, p. 682; Bilby, p. 136; Markham, I, 134.

[3] Saabye, p. 48; Stefánsson, VI, 179; Turner, I, 195; Rink, III, 62, 59, 60; Porter, 139; Murdoch, I, 431; Low, pp. 172, 173; Kumlien, p. 30; Jenness, VII, 50; C. L. Hooper, p. 112; Hawkes, III, 128, 129; Birket-Smith, II, 454; Peary, II, 65; Tremblay, p. 124.

[4] Wrangell, p. 119.

[5] C. L. Hooper, p. 112.

[6] Turner, I, 196.

[7] Hall, I, 572.

[8] Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 235.

lows,"[1] but there are many exceptions,[2] and "while an angekok may possess great power because he is clever and feared, it is not actually because he is a shaman. . . . ."[3]

While it is expressly stated by many authors that both men and women may become angakoks,[4] there seem always to be more men in the profession.[5] Thus in Point Barrow there are "many men and some women" shamans.[6] On the coast of Hudson's Bay we find that the woman shaman could exhibit her skill only on members of her own sex.[7] There is a general statement to this effect also,[8] but this was not always true, three examples being reported of women shamans having men for patients.[9] For the Greenland Eskimo, "both men and women can become Angakok, but women are rarely dangerous as such; they have not the courage to do evil,"[10] while in Alaska, "there are no women shamans of a high de-

[1] Rasmussen, III, 146, 147.

[2] Rasmussen, I, 123; Jenness, VII, 239; III, 186, 94; Graah, p. 124; Payne, p. 227.

[3] Birket-Smith, I, 259.

[4] Stefánsson, VI, 363, 367; Kroeber, p. 303; Bilby, pp. 196, 197; Birket-Smith, II, 452; Gilbertson, p. 83; Hawkes, III, 128, 129; Hall, I, 572; Holm, p. 88; Jenness, III, 194; Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 235; Rink, III, 58.

[5] Porter, p. 138; Nansen, I, 284; Jenness, III, 195; Franklin, I, 264 (Churchill); Birket-Smith, II, 452 (Egd.); Astrup, p. 318 (S.S.); Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 235 (Gr.).

[6] Murdoch, I, 422. [7] Richardson, p. 217.

[8] Franklin, I, 264 (Churchill); Hall, I, 393.

[9] Hall, I, 345; Stefánsson, VI, 380 (Pt.B.); Petroff, p. 133 (A.).

[10] Rasmussen, III, 155.

gree."[1] Women were sometimes able to become great angakoks,[2] however, and "when fully trained could do all things."[3] It seems on the whole, however, that the profession of a shaman is more readily entered by the man, and the woman shaman is limited to some extent by the fact of her sex. One tradition recounts the story of a woman who attempted to become an angakok but did not succeed.[4] In such a case the person might become an instrument of mischief, a sort of witch,[5] and many old women followed this course,[6] some men also becoming agents of evil.[7] Rink suggests that this witchcraft, practiced chiefly by women, may be a remnant of an older religion, which has been superseded in large part.[8]

The angakok was often assisted at his magical performances by his wife[9] or another woman,[10] and sometimes we find that both man and wife practice the art of shamanism.[11] The cure of barrenness in married women, the treatment being copulation with the patient, was necessarily the prerogative of the male

[1] Kelly, p. 23.

[2] Rasmussen, I, 34, 210.

[3] Thalbitzer, I, 467.

[4] *Ibid.*, 464.

[5] Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 236 (Gr.); Holm, p. 96 (Ang.).

[6] Egede, pp. 124, 192; Rasmussen, III, 252; Saabye, p. 44 (Gr.); Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 152, 198.

[7] Kane, I, Vol. 2, p. 127 (Et.); Holm, p. 100 (Ang.); Birket-Smith, II, 456 (Egd.); Nansen, I, 284.

[8] Rink, III, 52, 53.

[9] Lyon, II, 358 (Ig.); *Northern Regions*, p. 227 (Ig.); Light, p. 198 (Felix Harbor); Amundsen, I, 270; Czaplicka, pp. 230, 231.

[10] Boas, III, 156, 157; Hall, II, 92; Hawkes, III, 133.

[11] Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 19 (Net.); Jenness, III, 193 (Cop.).

shaman.[1] Two instances of the divorce ceremony by head-lifting were both performed by women,[2] but they were not spoken of as being angakok.

Taboo regulations are especially directed against women[3] on account of the religious uncleanliness which the Eskimo connect with childbirth and menstruation.[4] These rules are prescribed by the angakok[5] and are complied with to prevent harm to the group,[6] especially for the protection of their own offspring,[7] to insure good hunting,[8] or to insure the birth of sons.[9] Women must be on guard against the moon,[10] and there are many interdictions concerning the eating of certain foods[11] or the doing of certain work[12] at various times. Observances to be complied

[1] Birket-Smith, II, 407; Egede, p. 142; Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 239; Bilby, pp. 203, 161; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 147.

[2] Bessels, p. 877 (S.S.); Davis, p. 485 (Melville Bay).

[3] Hanbury, p. 100; Low, pp. 169, 170; Nelson, I, 391; Kroeber, p. 313; Jenness, III, 181, 183; Boas, VII, 478; III, 121, 122, 124, 125, 132, 159, 150; I, 595, 596; Stefánsson, III, 411.

[4] Rasmussen, IV, 533; I, 352.

[5] Rink, III, 62; Egede, p. 195; Smith, p. 214.

[6] Stefánsson, VI, 264; Boas, III, 504; Turner, I, 199; Boas, VII, 505, 551; Thalbitzer, I, 271, 272; Jenness, III, 200, 173, 205.

[7] Stefánsson, VI, 254; Holm, p. 63; Rasmussen, I, 134.

[8] Rink, I, 259; Jenness, III, 205; Boas, III, 120, 121, 122; VII, 501, 505.

[9] Birket-Smith, II, 407.

[10] Holm, p. 106; Nansen, I, 277; Graah, p. 124; Egede, p. 209; Saabye, p. 245.

[11] Birket-Smith, I, 139, 133; Rasmussen, III, 127, 128; Turquetil, p. 420; Smith, p. 214; Birket-Smith, II, 407; Boas, I, 596; III, 147; Dall, I, 147; Kroeber, p. 313; Jenness, III, 173; Stefánsson VI, 246, 254; Hall, I, 575; II, 395; Rasmussen, I, 65.

[12] Jenness, III, 183, 181, 200, 173, 205, 180; Boas, I, 595; Hanbury, p. 100; Boas, III, 493; VII, 517.

with at puberty,[1] menstruation,[2] and particularly at childbirth,[3] are numerous. A woman suffering a miscarriage is especially restricted,[4] and failure to report a miscarriage is a great crime.[5] These interdictions sometimes include the husband also.[6]

Closely associated with the religious life of the Eskimo is the wearing of amulets to serve as protection against hostile powers. These are for the most part worn by the men,[7] though women may wear them for the protection of sons they hope to bear.[8] Knowledge of the superstitions regarding their use is peculiar to women,[9] and a woman may prepare them[10] or sing over them to invest them with power.[11] The wife of the angakok may provide potent amulets.[12] Women

[1] Nelson, I, 291; Boas, III, 161; Gilbertson, pp. 16, 17.

[2] Birket-Smith, I, 142, 258; Hall, I, 569; Stefánsson, VI, 272; Boas, I, 596; III, 150, 504; VII, 478; Low, pp. 169, 170; Kroeber, p. 313; Birket-Smith, II, 409.

[3] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 199; Birket-Smith, I, 279; Egede, p. 195; Rasmussen, III, 119; Boas, III, 159, 504, 142; Hall, II, 217, 173; Stefánsson, VI, 272; Rasmussen, I, 141; Holm, p. 106; Hanbury, p. 68; Gilbertson, p. 43; Boas, VII, 514, 515, 485; I, 611.

[4] Rasmussen, III, 119, 121; Hall, II, 282; Boas, III, 147; Low, pp. 169, 170; Birket-Smith, II, 409.

[5] Boas, IV, 11; VII, 504; III, 126.

[6] Rink, III, 54; Petitot, III, 692; Egede, p. 196; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 199; Birket-Smith, II, 409.

[7] Birket-Smith, I, 289; Rasmussen, I, 184; Boas, VII, 506; Kroeber, p. 308; Rasmussen, III, 139, 138; Dall, I, 145.

[8] Thalbitzer, I, 249; Gilbertson, p. 43 (quoting Holm); Holm, pp. 86, 61; Birket-Smith, II, 407; Rasmussen, I, 184; Thalbitzer, III, 627, 628; Rasmussen, IV, 533; Boas, III, 142, 143.

[9] Rink, III, 42, 52, 53. [10] Steensby, II, 374. [11] Thalbitzer, III, 631.

[12] Boas, III, 151; Low, p. 172; Tremblay, pp. 124, 125.

most often wear amulets in their hair[1] or in the front flap of their frocks,[2] while the men have a harness-like arrangement to which they are fastened[3] or wear them in skin pouches made for the purpose[4] or on the inner jacket.[5]

Thus we see that the observance of taboo regulations and the wearing of amulets have the same purpose, the warding off of evil powers. Since the success of the hunter insures the welfare of the group, it is but natural that these ceremonial observances should center around the welfare of the men, especially since it is they who lead the life of greater hazard.[6] That insurance of this success by means of amulets worn should to a large extent have come to be the prerogative of the men, while the more irksome restrictions are observed largely by women, may be due to the fact that the busy hunter would find success impossible if handicapped by interdictions, while the wearing of an amulet leaves his mind and body free for the tremendous exertions required of him.

Assistance in childbirth is rendered by women,[7] the amount of aid given varying in the different groups, the mother sometimes being entirely unattended.[8] A

[1] Holm, pp. 32, 85; Nansen, I, 288; Murdoch, I, 441.

[2] Holm, pp. 32, 85.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Nansen, I, 288.

[5] Boas, I, 560.

[6] Rasmussen, I, 184.

[7] Aldrich, p. 155; Birket-Smith, II, 408; Graah, p. 135; Hall, I, 568; Holm, p. 62; Porter, p. 136; Stefánsson, VI, 181; Boas, I, 610; Hawkes, III, 111; Jenness, III, 164; Nelson, I, 289.

[8] Bogoras, I, 36; Turquetil, p. 420; Rasmussen, I, 134; Mathiassen, p. 212.

female angakok usually takes charge of the ceremonial observances,[1] though the husband may assist magically,[2] or even practically if there are no women present.[3]

Among the Copper Eskimo we find "no professional story-teller and there is no prestige gained by knowledge of the traditions."[4] In Labrador, however, there is usually a story-teller in each village.[5] Tales may be told by either men or women in most sections,[6] but there are regional differences to be observed here, the men in the western territory seeming to monopolize the art of story-telling. Thus in Alaska we find "special raconteurs," men who are famous for their knowledge of the old tales and traditions.[7] Among the Kuskokwimuit, the men are the story-tellers and custodians of the legends.[8] That these people had borrowed the raven myth from the Tlingit suggests that the idea of the prestige of the story-teller is borrowed from the same source. Also for the western district an old man was the keeper of tribal tradition.[9]

For the Hudson Bay Eskimo, the men tell what they have seen and heard while the women relate the former history of the group.[10] The grandmother

[1] Bilby, p. 159; Boas, I, 610; Kumlien, p. 28.

[2] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 199; Murdoch, I, 414; Hawkes, III, 111.

[3] Bogoras, I, 510.

[4] Jenness, V, 1 (Cop.).

[5] Smith, p. 209 (footnote).

[6] Jenness, V, 1 (Cop.); Thalbitzer, I, 387; Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 253.

[7] Jenness, V, 1 (A.).

[8] Gordon, I, 233.

[9] Nelson, I, 286; Hawkes, I, 10.

[10] Turner, I, 260.

teaches the legends to her grandchildren[1] and "is like a living book for all those who like to listen to old stories and myths."[2] On the other hand, we find men often employed in telling stories,[3] particularly of the chase.[4]

The dances of the Eskimo are of two sorts: the ceremonial dances, performed in a prescribed manner, and the dances wherein the performer invents movements and pantomimes extemporaneously.[5] In the former of these, we find the dancing of the men and of the women to differ radically, the women merely swaying gracefully in time to the music, while the men jump about violently.[6]

In the pantomime dances, the *naajeertoq*, according to Thalbitzer, "while the character of the part is the main thing . . . . and the dancing of secondary importance, the reverse applies to the tiwaleq, the solo-dancer; further, the former branch of art is practised principally by men, the latter by women."[7] In these pantomime dances, we find the principal actor to be usually accompanied by a chorus of women,[8] the

[1] Rasmussen, III, 159.

[2] Rasmussen, II, 37. [3] Rink and Boas, p. 123.

[4] Holm, p. 60; Jenness, III, 228; Nansen, I, 71; II, Vol. 2, pp. 314, 315.

[5] Thalbitzer, I, 165, 166; Moore, pp. 364, 365.

[6] Dall, I, 150; Graah, p. 107; Hawkes, I, 9, 10; II, 10, 11; III, 123; Holm, pp. 125, 126; Jenness, pp. 171 (describing Fig. 14), 170; Mikkelsen, II, 287, 288; Moore, p. 365; Nelson, I, 353; Porter, pp. 141, 142; Roberts and Jenness, pp. 10, 11; Stefánsson, VI, 176; Thalbitzer, I, 166; Thuren, p. 11; Wallace, p. 223.

[7] Thalbitzer, I, 165, 166.

[8] Bilby, p. 243; Boas, I, 602; Birket-Smith, I, 269; Beechey, pp. 246, 247; Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, pp. 24, 25; Dall, IV, 123; Gilder, p. 43; Hall, II, 98, 99,

women forming an audience if not accompanying with song.[1] The chorus might sometimes be made up of both men and women[2] or of men alone.[3]

These pantomime dances are accompanied by singing and drum-playing on the part of the actor.[4] Playing of the drum seems to be most often associated with the man's dance,[5] though a woman might accompany her song with the drum,[6] in which case a different technique in beating the drum is used.[7] When drums are beaten merely as an accompaniment to the dancing or singing, it is invariably done by men.[8] Among the Caribou Eskimo the women are found never to beat the drum.[9]

In the ceremonial dances, men often dance dis-

129; Hanbury, pp. 70, 71; Hall, I, 469; Ray, p. 42; Jenness, III, 224; Light, p. 215; Low, p. 176; Lyon, II, 169, 170, 232, 135; Amundsen, I, 269, 270; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 232; Rasmussen, I, 92, 150; III, 38, 37; Ross, I, 188.

[1] Dall, I, 149, 150; Nelson, I, 287; Kroeber, pp. 302, 303; *Northern Regions*, p. 221; Lyon, II, 247, 248.

[2] Rasmussen, I, 315; Thuren, pp. 27, 3; Graah, p. 107; Stefánsson, III, 186; Nelson, II, 16; W. H. Hooper, p. 50.

[3] Hawkes, I, 10; Astrup, pp. 319, 320; Murdoch, I, 374; Dall, I, 16, 17.

[4] Thalbitzer, and Thuren, p. 58.

[5] Graah, p. 107; Stefánsson, VI, 187; Roberts and Jenness, pp. 10, 11; Egede, p. 155; Dall, IV, 139; I, 389; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 162; Beechy, pp. 227, 230; Astrup, pp. 319, 320.

[6] Thalbitzer, and Thuren, p. 54; Thalbitzer, I, 166; Kotzebue, Vol. 1, p. 255.

[7] Thalbitzer, II, 248, 249; Thuren, p. 13.

[8] Kelly, p. 12; Moore, pp. 365, 366; Murdoch, I, 374; Roberts and Jenness, p. 11; Stefánsson, VI, 187; Mathiassen, p. 227; Petitot, II, 152, 153; Elliott, II, 391; Dall, I, 152, 153, 16, 17, 149, 150; Cook, Vol. 6, p. 442; Rossman, p. 106; Beechy, p. 230; Nelson, I, 348.

[9] Birket-Smith, I, 270, 271.

guised as women,[1] and women also are sometimes dressed as men.[2] At a certain festival each performer dressed according to the sex of the last relative to die.[3] In the event of appearing in these disguises, the individuals dance as if they belonged to the sex which they represent.[4] The dance of the other sex might also be imitated without disguise.[5]

Of the dances in which the activities of women are mimicked, women are usually the performers,[6] while the men go through the activities of the men,[7] but on occasion, especially when dressed as a member of the opposite sex,[8] they imitate the activities of that sex.[9]

"In dancing . . . . women . . . . alternate with the men, for the sexes have almost equal status."[10] Customarily the two sexes perform separately, but there are no restrictions "against women taking part in men's dances."[11] Usually the women take part in pantomimic entertainment, when dancing with the

[1] Rasmussen, I, 148; Hawkes, I, 35; Boas, I, 604, 605; Elliott, II, 392; Hall, I, 576; Petroff, pp. 129, 130; Thalbitzer, II, 248; I, 298, 305, 311.

[2] Elliott, II, 391; Hawkes, I, 35; Porsild, p. 248; Petroff, p. 129.

[3] Hawkes, I, 35.

[4] Thalbitzer, II, 248; Elliott, II, 392; Petroff, p. 129.

[5] Hawkes, I, 12.

[6] Hawkes, II, 15, 16; Nelson, I, 356, 357, 355; Petroff, p. 129; Elliott, II, 391.

[7] Hawkes, II, 15, 16; Rosse, p. 199; Ray, p. 41; Petitot, II, 152, 153; Elliott, II, 392.

[8] Elliott, II, 392; Petroff, pp. 129, 130.

[9] T. Simpson, p. 158; Murdoch, I, 374; Nelson, I, 356, 355; Thalbitzer, I, 298.

[10] Jenness, VII, 29. [11] Hawkes, I, 11.

men,[1] but it is not unknown for them to dance with the men, with the same movements used by the men.[2] The movements customarily associated with the woman's dance are found to be used by some of the men in certain localities.[3] Women may also form a background, or sort of dancing chorus for a principal male dancer.[4] Among the Copper Eskimo both sexes dance alike, though only one person performs at a time.[5]

The data concerning the nith song relate almost entirely to Greenland, and we find that the women[6] engage in attack and retort songs as well as the men,[7] though it is probably less common among the women. These spectacles are attended by both men and women.[8]

Among the western Eskimo we find the kashim or men's house, which plays an important part in the community life. Here the men sleep,[9] eat,[10]

[1] Stefánsson, VI, 337, 338, 171, 164, 165; Thalbitzer, I, 299; Hawkes, I, 11; II, 16, 15; Nelson, I, 356; Murdoch, I, 374.

[2] Beechy, p. 227; Nelson, I, 357.

[3] Steensby, II, 380 (Gr.); Birket-Smith, I, 270, 271 (C.E.); Hawkes, III, 123 (Lab.); Graah, p. 107 (E.Gr.); Kotzebue, Vol. 1, p. 192 (St.L.Is.).

[4] Hawkes, I, 11. [5] Roberts and Jenness, p. 10.

[6] Holm, p. 128; Thalbitzer, I, 166, 167, 326; III, 539; Bogoras, II, 173.

[7] Graah, p. 108; Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 261; Rasmussen, I, 95; Holm, p. 127; Thalbitzer, I, 166, 167, 353, 521.

[8] Thalbitzer, I, 170; Nansen, I, 186.

[9] Elliott, II, 385; Gordon, I, 138; Nelson, I, 286; Petroff, pp. 133, 128; Porter, p. 101; Richardson, p. 217; Hawkes, II, 4, 13.

[10] Petroff, p. 128; Porter, p. 102; Stefánsson, VI, 136; Steensby, I, 108; Richardson, p. 155; Rasmussen, I, 352.

work,[1] and hold councils,[2] and it is in council that community affairs are decided by the older men, though outside the western region they are not held in a dancehouse.[3] Here baths[4] are taken by the men and festivals held in which the women join,[5] though women are usually denied entrance except to bring food to male members of their family.[6]

The most common pastimes, aside from dancing, are trials of strength and skill among the Eskimo men.[7] Men and women play together at football[8] and similar games. A favorite amusement of the men is tilting at a suspended ivory hoop.[9] The making of string figures is more popular with the women,[10]

[1] Hawkes, II, 13; Murdoch, I, 79; Nelson, I, 285; Petroff, p. 128; Porter, p. 102; Rasmussen, I, 351; Jenness, II, 94, 95; Dall, I, 16.

[2] Petroff, pp. 132, 128, 126; Dall, I, 16; Hawkes, II, 4.

[3] Gilder, pp. 245, 242; Low, p. 163.

[4] Dall, I, 16; Gordon, I, 138; Hawkes, II, 4, 13; Nelson, I, 287; Whymper, I, 170; Petroff, p. 128.

[5] Nelson, I, 348, 285, 286; Whymper, I, 170; Gordon, I, 138; Elliott, II, 390.

[6] Barnum, p. 9; Elliott, II, 386; Gordon, I, 227; Murdoch, I, 80; Nelson, I, 286; Whymper, I, 170; Stefánsson, VI, 138; Petroff, p. 128.

[7] Amundsen, II, Vol. 2, p. 17; Bilby, p. 240; Birket-Smith, I, 272; II, 395; III, 203; Boas, I, 609; VII, 482; *Captain Cartwright and His Labrador Journal*, p. 108; Franklin, II, 174; Henson, p. 193; Jenness, III, 221, 222; Kroeber, p. 300; Moore, pp. 360, 363, 364, 367; Murdoch, I, 383; Nelson, I, 339; Payne, p. 219; Stefánsson, VI, 384; Stupart, p. 104; Tremblay, p. 119; Mathiassen, p. 221; Bogoras, I, 33; Low, p. 175; Turner, I, 255.

[8] Thalbitzer, III, 660, 661; Payne, p. 219; Birket-Smith, I, 272; Amundsen, II, 176; Low, p. 174; Murdoch, I, 384; Rasmussen, III, 232, Turner, I, 255; Tyrrell, p. 154; Wallace, p. 223; Mathiassen, p. 222.

[9] Boas, III, 110; Birket-Smith, I, 276, 277; Nelson, I, 334; Payne, p. 219; Packard, I, 255; Gilder, pp. 44, 45; Egede, pp. 161, 162.

[10] Low, pp. 175, 170; Boas, I, 569; Hall, I, 129; Hawkes, III, 121, 122; Murdoch, I, 383; Mathiassen, p. 222.

though the men might indulge in it also.[1] Games of chance are indulged in by both sexes,[2] the women especially being addicted to this.[3]

Only for East Greenland is there any mention of working songs or "shanties" and here they are sung by the kayakers and by the women in the umiak,[4] the women's songs being refrains sung at berry-picking,[5] of which two are given by Thalbitzer while six of the men's kayaking songs are reported.[6] For the Caribou Eskimo there are no working songs,[7] while in Egedesminde the women sing but do not row in time.[8] Both sexes hum monotonously about their daily tasks, however.[9]

Songs are composed by the men[10] or women,[11] and the hunting theme is most popular.[12] Women accompany the men in singing only at the time of their regular dancing assemblies.[13] In fact, "singing" as opposed to "singing and dancing" is not clearly distinguished in the literature. So-called "petting-songs"

[1] Gordon, II, 87; Mikkelsen, II, 126; Stefánsson, VI, 246, 177.

[2] Birket-Smith, I, 100; Mathiassen, p. 220; Turner, I, 178, 225; Jenness, III, 221.

[3] Boas, III, 110; Egede, pp. 161, 162.

[4] Thalbitzer and Thuren, p. 53.

[5] Thalbitzer, I, 164.

[6] *Ibid.*, 246, 247.

[7] Birket-Smith, I, 98.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, 258.

[9] Birket-Smith, I, 235; Parry, Vol. 2, pp. 212, 42, 303; Amundsen, II, 303; Boas, I, 574; Lyon, II, 129; Rasmussen, I, 164.

[10] Bilby, pp. 241, 243; Birket-Smith, I, 270; Rasmussen, I, 352.

[11] Roberts and Jenness, p. 12; Stefánsson, V, 25; Steensby, II, 378; Rink and Boas, p. 131; Bogoras, I, 40.

[12] Rasmussen, I, 92, 93, 151.

[13] Graah, p. 120.

or lullabies are naturally the woman's method of expression.[1]

When a group of men and women are assembled, the women as a rule are seated apart.[2] Probably largely because of the Eskimo woman's almost constant preoccupation with sewing and the care of skins, when they sometimes hold the skins in position with the foot,[3] their habitual position when sitting is with the legs doubled under the body tailor fashion.[4] Men, on the contrary, sit in the European fashion[5] or with the legs stretched out in front,[6] while we have the statement for the Mackenzie region that the men, when scraping skins, avoid the working position of the women.[7]

[1] Thalbitzer and Thuren, pp. 56, 55; Birket-Smith, II, 415.

[2] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 158; Lyon, II, 354.

[3] Peary, II, 98; Tremblay, p. 116; Ekblaw, p. 176; Aldrich, p. 64.

[4] Aldrich, p. 187; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 133; I, 269; Birket-Smith, I, 93; II, 153; Boas, I, 565, 602; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 130; Gilder, p. 262; Hall, II, 90, 98; Holm, p. 60; Kumlien, p. 33; Lyon, II, 110, 111, 318; Nansen, I, 125, 126; *Northern Regions*, p. 179; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 214; Saabye, p. 250, 3; Tremblay, p. 116; Mathiassen, p. 183.

[5] Holm, pp. 40, 60; Murdoch, I, 75; Saabye, p. 250, 3; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 214; Nansen, I, 125, 126; Lyon, II, 110, 111; Egede, p. 116; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 130; Birket-Smith, II, 153.

[6] Parry, Vol. 2, p. 214; Hall, II, 98; Boas, I, 602; Birket-Smith, I, 93.

[7] Stefánsson, VI, 149.

CHAPTER IX

MISCELLANEOUS

Though polygamy is permitted in most Eskimo communities,[1] monogamy is generally the rule,[2] since only exceptionally good hunters can provide for more than one wife.[3] In some districts the second wife is taken only in case the first one remains barren,[4] since childlessness exposes the husband to derision ("Having no children he has no sense," says a nith song[5]), or if she gives birth only to girls.[6]

In very rare cases polyandry is found to be practiced,[7] but this is due to a scarcity of women,[8] and in most regions the women outnumber the men[9] in spite of the recent custom of killing female infants.

[1] De Nadaillac, p. 7; Wallace, p. 223; Tyrrell, p. 156; Turner, II, 100 (Itivimiut); I, 189; Mathiassen, p. 210; T. Simpson, p. 348; Rae, p. 146; Nelson, I, 292; Nansen, I, 144, 121; Moore, p. 367; Mikkelsen, II, 295; Light, p. 244; Kohlmeister and Kmoch, p. 39; Ray, p. 44; Hutton, p. 41; Holm, p. 65; Graah, p. 143; Gordon, I, 231; Dall, I, 381; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 146; Boas, VII, 466; III, 115; Birket-Smith, I, 294.

[2] Turner, I, 188; De Nadaillac, p. 7; Rink, III, 23; Rasmussen, III, 65; Payne, p. 224; Murdoch, I, 411; Lyon, II, 352; Low, p. 164; Lewis, p. 55; Kumlien, p. 16; Jenness, III, 161; Egede, p. 140; Dall, I, 138; Bryant, p. 682; Boas, I, 579; Birket-Smith, I, 294; Bessels, p. 873; Aldrich, p. 161.

[3] Turner, I, 189; Tremblay, p. 117; J. Simpson, p. 253; Rasmussen, I, 232; Petroff, p. 126; Nelson, I, 292; Nansen, II, Vol. 1, p. 342; I, 171; Kumlien, p. 17; Jenness, VIII, 547; Egede, p. 140; Birket-Smith, I, 406; Bilby, p. 144.

[4] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 147 (Gr.); Holm, p. 68 (Ang.); Egede, p. 145 (Gr.); Ross, II, Vol. 1, p. 184; C. L. Hooper, p. 109.

[5] Gilbertson, p. 42. [6] Dall, I, 381; Birket-Smith, II, 406 (quoting P. Kragle).

[7] Amundsen, I, 270; Rae, p. 146; Stefánsson, VI, 204 (Vic.Is.).

[8] Rasmussen, I, 232. [9] Birket-Smith, I, 66; Kroeber, p. 268.

There is no marriage ceremony,[1] the marriage being customarily arranged by old women,[2] the husband sometimes paying a price to the girl's family[3] or using varying degrees of force[4] in coercing her. The young couple may live with the parents of either,[5] with the wife's[6] or the husband's.[7] The mother of a married son sometimes holds sway as mistress of his household with his wife in the position of servant.[8] Relationship is looked upon as being of the same degree on the side of the man as upon the side of the woman.[9]

The treatment accorded women by their husbands represents all gradations from extreme brutality, with wives treated as slaves or chattels,[10] to loving kind-

[1] Moore, p. 368; Astrup, p. 277; Birket-Smith, I, 294; Bryant, p. 682; Curtis, p. 384; Dall, I, 388; Holm, p. 67; Jenness, III, 158, 159; Lyon, II, 296, 352.

[2] Bilby, p. 155; Birket-Smith, II, 406; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 146; Egede, pp. 143, 144; Holm, p. 67; Ray, p. 43; Jenness, III, 159; J. Simpson, pp. 252, 253.

[3] Dall, I, 139; Hutton, p. 76; Moore, p. 368; Nansen, I, 147; Birket-Smith, I, 293.

[4] Rink, III, 23; Bessels, p. 876; Egede, pp. 143, 144; Graah, p. 141; Hall, II, 259; Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 432; Holm, p. 67; Ray, p. 44; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 316; Saabye, p. 127; Turner, II, 103.

[5] Birket-Smith, I, 294; Boas, II, 111; Gilbertson, p. 9; Nelson, I, 291.

[6] Boas, I, 578; Lewis, p. 54; Light, p. 370.

[7] Birket-Smith, II, 139; Payne, p. 225; C. L. Hooper, p. 109; Dall, I, 381; Boas, III, 115; Bilby, p. 158.

[8] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 148; Graah, p. 141; Saabye, pp. 129, 262.

[9] Birket-Smith, II, 406.

[10] Egede, p. 145; Peary, I, 387; Steensby, II, 367; Rink, III, 25; Holm, p. 145; Murdoch, I, 411, 412; Rasmussen, III, 56; Petitot, I, 5; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 215; Nansen, II, Vol. 1, p. 342; Lyon, II, 298; Jenness, VII, 182, 183; Holm, p. 68; Curtis, p. 384; Boas, VII, 468, 469; Birket-Smith, III, 187; II, 154; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 314; Ray, p. 43; Nansen, I, 121; Roberts and Jenness, p. 14.

ness.[1] Murdoch states that the women are on a footing of perfect equality with the men,[2] and the wife by extremely rare exception is reported to rule her husband.[3] It would seem that while he has her life in his hands[4] her lot varies with the temperament of the individuals concerned.[5]

Divorce is common,[6] principally for failure to produce children,[7] especially males,[8] and the woman may take her dower portion with her.[9] A wife may leave a husband who does not provide for her,[10] and the children accompany the mother in any case.[11]

In sexual matters the husband has the utmost freedom,[12] and, though laxity in unmarried females is hardly considered a fault,[13] a married woman is severely punished for intercourse with other men[14] except at

[1] Whitney, p. 400; Rasmussen, II, 27; McLenegan, p. 75; Holm, p. 68; Hawkes, III, 116, 117; I, 12; Astrup, pp. 274, 275; Rasmussen, I, 231.

[2] Murdoch, I, 413.

[3] Turner, II, 105; Rae, p. 143; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 308.

[4] Rasmussen, I, 231. [5] Nansen, II, Vol. 2, pp. 324, 325.

[6] Murdoch, I, 412; Kumlien, p. 17; Turner, I, 189.

[7] Graah, p. 117; Nansen, I, 150; Cranz, Vol. 1, pp. 147, 148; Dall, I, 139; Egede, p. 145; Holm, p. 68.

[8] Low, p. 164; Steensby, II, 368.

[9] Graah, p. 117; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 319; Jenness, III, 89; Hawkes, III, 115; Birket-Smith, I, 294.

[10] Birket-Smith, I, 261.

[11] Turner, I, 190; Birket-Smith, I, 294; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 148; Turner, II, 105; Low, p. 164; Petroff, p. 126; Hawkes, III, 115; Graah, p. 117.

[12] Rasmussen, I, 232; Nansen, I, 169.

[13] Dall, I, 138; Holm, p. 67; Jenness, III, 163, 235; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 327; I, 164; Turner, I, 189; Birket-Smith, I, 294; II, 410.

[14] Rasmussen, I, 232; Steensby, II, 369; Nansen, I, 169; Turner, I, 178; Holm, p. 145.

the instigation of the husband, who may exchange wives with his friends,[1] or at the time of the periodic festivals, when "wife exchange" becomes a part of the religious ceremonial.[2] Lending of wives to a traveler whose own wife is incapacitated for the labors of the journey is also common,[3] since a woman is indispensable at such times for sewing.[4] Graah, on the other hand, knew no instance of wife exchange.[5]

A man's hunting weapons and a woman's household utensils are placed upon their respective graves.[6] Some authors state that there is no difference in the method of burial of the two sexes,[7] while others notice a difference in the orientation of the body.[8]

Men customarily carry dead bodies to the grave,[9] but the wife of the dead man may aid.[10] Four women

[1] Rasmussen, I, 233; Steensby, II, 369; Rasmussen, III, 64; Nelson, I, 292; Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 325; I, 169; Kumlien, p. 16; Kelly, p. 19; Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 309; Mathiassen, p. 211.

[2] Steensby, II, 369; Holm, p. 69; Hawkes, III, 116; Egede, p. 141; Boas, III, 158; Bilby, pp. 212, 157, 142.

[3] Murdoch, I, 413; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 215; Jenness, III, 239; Ray, p. 44; Henson, p. 193; Hall, I, 425; Gilder, p. 251; Borup, p. 134; Boas, I, 579; Birket-Smith, I, 295; Astrup, p. 273.

[4] Sonntag, p. 56; Birket-Smith, I, 152. [5] Graah, p. 122.

[6] Porter, p. 137; Tremblay, p. 114; Mathiassen, pp. 229, 230; Turner, II, 101; Thomsen, p. 280; J. Simpson, p. 275; Scoresby, p. 211; Peary, II, 66; I, 388; Nelson, I, 321; Nansen, I, 247; Moore, p. 369; MacMillan, I, 113; Low, p. 166; Lewis, p. 55; Kroeber, p. 312; Ray, p. 43; Henson, p. 194; Hawkes, III, 120; Graah, p. 67; Egede, p. 151; Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 217; Boas, I, 613; Bilby, pp. 165, 166; Baffin, I, 136 (Gr.); Bellot, p. 354; Astrup, p. 323.

[7] Birket-Smith, I, 302; Dall, I, 146.

[8] Rae, p. 147; Turquetil, p. 433.

[9] Stefánsson, VI, 315; Mathiassen, p. 229; Lyon, II, 370.

[10] Maguire, p. 181.

carried a dead woman[1] and a woman carried dead children to the grave,[2] while Boas states that the surviving husband or wife carried the corpse of the dead mate.[3] Grave clothes are naturally prepared by women,[4] and the body is prepared for burial by men[5] or women.[6] The corpse is removed through the door if a man, if a woman through the window.[7]

The best means of death, from the point of view of reward earned in the after-life is for women death by childbirth, and for men death of violence or accident.[8]

There are many taboos directed against both sexes while in mourning, the chief ones involving abstinence from their customary occupations[9] and foods[10] for varying lengths of time. Women are especially prohibited from wearing their hair in the usual fashion.[11] Men stuff the right nostril with dried grass as a sign of mourning, while women stop up the left.[12]

In times of scarcity the lot of the old of both sexes

[1] Hall, I, 187.

[2] Graah, p. 133; Hall, II, 265.

[3] Boas, VII, 516.

[4] Hawkes, III, 119; Graah, p. 127.

[5] Moore, p. 369; Holm, p. 81.

[6] Lyon, II, 380; Moore, p. 368.

[7] Kroeber, p. 311.

[8] Egede, p. 201; Boas, I, 590; Rink, III, 42; Kroeber, p. 310; Hawkes, III, 137; Kumlien, p. 31.

[9] Birket-Smith, II, 428; I, 301; Holm, p. 76; Boas, VII, 515, 516, 517; III, 147; I, 615, 614: Rasmussen, I, 135; Schultz-Lorentzen, p. 244; Mathiassen, p. 229; Lyon, II, 368, 369; Low, p. 166.

[10] Birket-Smith, I, 301; Boas, VII, 516; Lyon, II, 368, 369; Birket-Smith, II, 428.

[11] Rink, III, 55; Birket-Smith, I, 300; Boas, III, 145; Egede, p. 152; Graah, p. 81; Low, p. 166.

[12] Kroeber, p. 311; Bessels, p. 877; Davis, p. 484.

is hard,[1] the old women being treated somewhat more harshly,[2] though perhaps more cases of the persecution of women are reported, because more of them live to a helpless old age.

At meetings of various groups for purposes of trade, the women are often left behind,[3] presumably because the tribes meeting are enemies.[4] Sometimes the women accompany the expedition but are left at some distance from the actual place of barter,[5] where they may be consulted,[6] and exceptionally the women actually engage in trade, usually for articles used in women's work.[7] On the other hand, when trading with Europeans, women often participate,[8] again trafficking in women's articles.[9] The opinion of an old woman on matters concerning trade is sometimes considered to be final.[10]

The duty of "blood revenge," common among primitive peoples, among the Eskimo devolves upon

[1] Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 116; Lyon, II, 356, 357.

[2] Aldrich, p. 170; Boas, III, 117; VII, 494; Hawkes, III, 117; Holm, p. 147; Lyon, II, 352, 353; Nansen, I, 177, 178; Turner, I, 186; Rasmussen, I, 224 (Pelly Bay).

[3] McLenegan, p. 75; Franklin, II, 130; Jenness, III, 49; Mikkelsen, II, 101; Stefánsson, VI, 265.

[4] Mikkelsen, II, 101 (Flaxman Is.).

[5] Stefánsson, VI, 188, 189, 195 (Pt.B.); J. Simpson, pp. 265, 266 (Pt.B.).

[6] Ray, p. 44.

[7] Jenness, III, 52, 53; Parry, Vol. 1, p. 185; Hall, II, 408.

[8] Aldrich, p. 51; Back, II, 38; *Account of Voyage for N.W. Passage*, p. 31 (H.St.).

[9] Franklin, III, 430, 431; Lyon, II, 22, 23; Beechey, p. 210.

[10] Beechey, pp. 240, 244; Kotzebue, Vol. 1, p. 211; Lyon, II, 37.

the male relatives of the deceased.[1] Organized warfare, which occurs only in the western district, is found to be carried on by males.[2] There is one report that the women take part[3] and another that they may get in the rear of the enemy to obstruct his retreat.[4] Two reports state that women are taken as slaves.[5]

We have noted in other connections the use of the mouth and teeth of the housewife in the performance of her daily tasks, namely, in the dressing of skins,[6] the softening of boot soles,[7] tearing of sinew thread,[8] the extraction of blubber for burning in the lamp[9] and for other uses,[10] the cleaning of utensils,[11] and the chew-

[1] Schwatka, p. 545; Turner, II, 102; Saabye, pp. 241 (footnote), 46; Nelson, I, 292; Lyon, II, 412; Hawkes, III, 109; Gilder, p. 248; Boas, I, 582; Rink, III, 35; Aldrich, p. 150.

[2] Rink, II, 29; Beechey, pp. 264, 265 (Pt.B.); Stefánsson, IV, 184 (Dolphin and Union St.); III, 169; Ross, I, 220; Maguire, p. 170 (Pt.B.).

[3] Richardson, p. 154 (Mac.).

[4] Kelly, p. 11 (A.).

[5] Nelson, I, 328, 329; Rink, II, 29.

[6] Astrup, pp. 76, 81; Bessels, pp. 86, 87; Birket-Smith, I, 199; *Captain Cartwright and his Labrador Journal*, 144, 90, 91; Ekblaw, p. 174; Graah, p. 37; Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 242; Hutton, pp. 59, 112; Kumlien, pp. 26, 41; Lyon, II, 319, 320; Markham, II, 182; Nansen, I, 127, 131, 132; Packard, I, 68; II, 270; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 228; Rossman, p. 66; Saabye, p. 37; Steensby, II, 344, 347; Thalbitzer, III, 505; Whitney, p. 37; *Northern Regions*, p. 194.

[7] Seward, p. 57; Hall, I, 135; Tyrrell, p. 137.

[8] Lyon, II, 121; *Northern Regions*, 186.

[9] Birket-Smith, II, 163; Boas, I, 545; Hall, I, 372; Lyon, II, 246; *Northern Regions*, p. 221; Steensby, II, 329, 330.

[10] Thalbitzer, III, 538; Stefánsson, VI, 290; Jenness, VII, 170.

[11] Birket-Smith, I, 224; Hall, II, 90; Jenness, VII, 31; Leslie, p. 284; Lyon, II, 118, 119, 169; *Northern Regions*, pp. 184, 201, 202; Petitot, II, 75, 76; Hall, II, 90.

ing of food for puppies[1] and for children,[2] and the washing of children.[3]

Though the men sometimes employ the teeth in working with hard materials,[4] in softening their lines,[5] untangling traces,[6] holding the line by which the seal is towed behind the kayak,[7] and crushing the heads of birds caught,[8] they do not ordinarily chew skins.[9] The fact that old women are often mentioned as having badly worn teeth,[10] and that women were formerly chosen in marriage for their long and strong teeth[11] leads us to conclude that the use of the mouth as a third hand[12] may justly be associated with woman's activities.

The pronunciation of men and women is said to differ in Greenland,[13] the women using softer consonants.[14]

[1] See p. 24.

[2] Boas, I, 566; Collinson, II, 83; III, 285, 286; Krulish, p. 8; Lyon, II, 173; Parry, Vol. 2, p. 214.

[3] Chappell, p. 86 (quoting Raynal); Collinson, III, 143; Egede, p. 147; Hall, I, 179; Henson, p. 51; C. L. Hooper, p. 103; Nansen, I, 29; *Northern Regions*, p. 201; Saabye, p. 255; Tyrrell, p. 156.

[4] Steensby, II, 386, 387.

[5] Gilder, p. 176.

[6] Birket-Smith, III, 186.

[7] Nansen, II, Vol. 2, p. 406.

[8] Dr. I. I. Hayes, p. 392.

[9] Gilder, p. 176; Steensby, II, 386, 387.

[10] Amundsen, II, Vol. 1, p. 315; Aldrich, p. 50; Kelly, p. 15.

[11] Waldo, p. 211.

[12] Nansen, I, 132.

[13] Kotzebue, Vol. 3, p. 314; Egede, pp. 166, 167.

[14] Egede, pp. 166, 167.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

The element of "taboo," invariably present in many forms in primitive society, is found to be very well known among the Eskimo. It is met with in every aspect of the daily life of the people.[1] The fact of sex plays an important part in these religious sanctions, many of them being applicable to one sex alone.

As stated in the body of this work, the taboos observed by women have for their purpose the protection of the hunters and consequently the welfare of the group as a whole, a natural result of the fact that the game taken is the property of the group. On the contrary, women's more important economic activities, dressing of skins, sewing, and the like, are undertaken with the idea of individual or family gain.

Conversely, the man in Eskimo society, when engaged in his most important economic activity, the hunt, is identified with the group as a whole, since the product of the chase is communally owned. Now the amulets worn by the men are found to be comparable to the magical observances of the women, but tend to have more individual significance, each man wearing amulets for his own protection.

It seems fairly clear that this general distinction may be made, and that it makes for integration, since

[1] Stefánsson, III, 411.

each member feels his identification with the group, the men's tending to be actual and the women's magical.

Notwithstanding the prominence of "taboo" in Eskimo life, it seems not to be carried over into the economic sphere to the extent that certain phases of activity are taboo to one or the other sex.[1] However, under ordinary circumstances there are well-defined patterns into which the activities of the two sexes fall, and "the different offices of husband and wife are far more clearly distinguished among them than among Europeans."[2] The man's work centers around his career as a hunter, while "only animals . . . . of little esteem, which are resorted to in time of famine, can be taken by the women."[3]

Sewing, cooking, and related household duties are definitely woman's work,[4] her value as a wife depending largely on her proficiency in these tasks, but "travelling frequently leads to a certain levelling of spheres of activity. The men are not only able to cook, but, at a pinch to make a pair of boots."[5]

The accompanying table shows the division between men's and women's lives to be clearly defined, though the distribution is exclusively a practical one.[6] Beside the tasks regularly apportioned by custom, others are done by either sex, according to the exigencies of the occasion.[7] The rowing of the umiak in

[1] Birket-Smith, I, 235, 258.

[2] Cranz, Vol. 1, p. 154.

[3] Thalbitzer, III, 397.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 33, 15, 31.

[5] Birket-Smith, III, 187.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 235.

[7] Stefánsson, VI, 280, 281; Jenness, III, 88.

pursuing the whale is a case in point, but that the men employ paddles while the women use oars when it is necessary for them to work together[1] shows that the two sexes do not meet on a common basis at this task. The same is true in the work of skin-scraping, at which task the men avoid the working position of the women.[2] Thus we see that the technique in those tasks which are common to both may be sexually differentiated.

Nevertheless, perhaps due to the harshness of their habitat, which makes the sexes singularly interdependent, co-operation is the keynote of their domestic economy and the maintenance of life, the goal to be won by united effort. To this end, "a man may do any kind of woman's work and a woman any kind of man's work,"[3] if a sufficiently urgent situation demands it.

It seems, in the last analysis, to be a relatively sophisticated point of view, this common-sense attitude of the Eskimo, which permits either sex to take advantage of the relatively infrequent opportunities in a grudging Arctic atmosphere.

In the table which follows, + is meant to indicate a multiplication of instances from different authors, showing the distribution of the trait to be widespread.

Letters indicate isolated cases, the abbreviation standing for the locality in which the example was noticed.

[1] See p. 4.

[2] Stefánsson, VI, 149 (Mac.).

[3] Stefánsson, VI, 102 (C.G.).

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
			Procuring of Food		
I. Large land animals			+		
1. Driving caribou	P.			+	
2. Actual shooting	+				
II. Large sea mammals					
1. In open sea					
a. In kayak	+				
b. In umiak			+		
1) Rowing			+		
a) Oars		+			
b) Paddles	+				
2) Harpooning	+				
2. On ice			+		
III. Small animals					+
IV. Fish			E.Gr.	+	
1. Nets	Ig. Mac.				
2. Weirs	Cop.				
3. Hooks				+	
V. Birds and eggs				+	
1. Easily procured		+			
2. Dangerous	+				
VI. Vegetable food		+			
			Food and Its Preparation		
I. Bringing in game			E.Gr.	W.Gr.	+
1. Caribou				+	
2. Sea animals			E.Gr. N.Lab.		+
3. Walrus	S.S. W.Is.				
II. Flaying					+
1. Location					
a. In camp				+	
b. Where killed			+		
2. Type of animal					
a. Walrus			+		
b. Seal				+	

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
	Food and Its Preparation—*Continued*				
II.—*Continued*					
c. Caribou					+
d. Bear	+				
e. Large animals			+		
f. Small animals				+	
g. Birds				+	
III. Flensing					+
1. Large animals		T.	Gr.		
2. Whale			+		
3. Seal				+	
IV. Caching					+
1. Scene of killing			+		
2. Near dwelling				+	
3. Large pieces			+		
4. Small pieces				+	
5. Curing meat				+	
6. Curing fish		+			
V. Preparation of food				+	
1. Cooking		+			
2. Mixing by mastication		+			
3. Distribution		+			
VI. Procuring of fuel					
1. Close at hand				+	West.
2. From distance			+		
3. In family group					+
4. Large communal group		+			
VII. Providing of water				+	
1. From near by		C.E.			
2. From distance	C.E.				
3. On deer hunt					+
VIII. Eating					
1. Community evening meal	+				
2. Later or separately		+			
3. During day		+			
4. Family meals					+
5. Ulo used for eating		Egd.C.E.			Cop.

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
	Food and Its Preparation—*Continued*				
IX. Food eaten					
1. Animal food					+
2. Vegetable food				+	
X. Tobacco					+
1. Snuff				+	Gr.
2. Smoking					+
3. Chewing			Gr.		+
4. Preparation of tobacco		+			
	Transportation				
I. Umiak					
1. Summer journey					
a. Rowers			West.	+	Lab.–H.B.
b. Steersman			+		
c. Escorting in kayak	+				
II. Kayak	+				
III. Dog sledge					
1. Pulling with dogs					+
a. In front of dogs				+	
b. Behind dogs			+		
2. Actual driving	W.Gr.				Gr.
3. Riding					+
4. Packing sledge					+
5. Harnessing dogs					+
6. Feeding dogs					+
7. Care of young dogs		+			
IV. Carrying on back				+	
1. Young dogs		+			
2. Children		+			
3. Lamps and pots		+			
	Building and Care of Houses				
I. Stone and turf	S.S.			+	
1. Woodwork	+				
2. Actual building		+			

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
	Buildings and Care of Houses—*Continued*				
I.—*Continued*					
3. Collecting material					
a. Wood	E.Gr.				
b. Other materials		Gr.			
II. Snow hut			+		Cop.
1. Actual building	+				
2. Filling chinks				+	
3. Cutting blocks					+
4. Placing ice window					+
5. Arrangement of interior				+	P.
III. Summer tent					
1. Erected				+	Cop.–Ang.
2. Sewing of skins		+			
3. Arrangement of interior		+			
IV. Care of dwelling		+			
1. Lamp		+			
a. Trimming of wick		+			
b. Furnishing oil		+			
c. Making fire					+
2. Fuel				+	
3. Care of clothing		+			
4. Cleaning of utensils		+			
5. Cleaning of house		+			
6. Ventilation		+			
	Manufacturing				
I. Materials used					
1. Hard	+				
2. Soft		+			
II. Ornamental work					
1. Ivory	+				
2. Skins		+			
III. Preparation of skins	K.Wm.L.			+	
1. Bear	E.Gr.				
2. Large animals			B.St.		

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
	Manufacturing—*Continued*				
III.—*Continued*					
3. Deer skins			H.B.		
4. Walrus	St.L.Is.				
5. Scraping			Cop.	+	
a. Sitting position		+			
b. Standing	Mac.				
IV. Clothing		+			
V. Transportation vehicles					
1. Umiak					+
a. Frame	+				
b. Covering		+			
2. Kayak					+
a. Frame	+				
b. Covering		+			
3. Sledge			+		C.E.
4. Snowshoes	+				
VI. Hunting implements	+				
1. Fish hooks					+
2. Fish nets	+				
3. Thongs	+				
4. Cords and thread		+			
VII. Utensils					+
1. Lamps			Gr.	West.	
2. Pots					+
3. Needle	M.N.P.	Gr.			
VIII. Dog harness				+	M.N.P.
IX. Weaving		+			
	Property and Inheritance				
I. Ownership					
1. Tools					
a. Hunting	+				
b. Household				+	
2. Houses					+
3. Tents					+
4. Boats					
a. Kayak	+				
b. Umiak					+

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
	Property and Inheritance—*Continued*				
I.—*Continued*					
5. Sledge	+				
6. Dog team					+
7. Driftwood					+
II. Inheritance					
1. Personal property					
a. Men's	+				
b. Women's				+	
2. Occult power					+
	Clothing and Ornament				
I. Upper garment					
1. Long appendages		+			W.Is.–Ig.
2. Large hood		+			
3. Wide in back		+			
II. Lower garment					
1. Knee length	+				
2. Very short		+			
3. Legging		+			
4. Very long boots		+			
5. Very wide boots		+			
6. Lower boot					+
7. Combined trousers and boots		West.			
8. Combination suit		West.			
III. Head covering					
1. Hoods					+
2. Head kerchief		Pr.B.			
3. Caps	Pr.B.				
IV. Indoor garment					
1. Naked					Gr.
2. Short drawers					+
V. Materials					
1. Strong materials			+		
a. Bearskin	+				
b. Foxskin				+	
c. Sealskin	Ig.				

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
	Clothing and Ornament—*Continued*				
VI. Ornamentation	P.			+	
1. Tail at back	West.				
2. Colored skins				Gr.	+
3. Fringe				+	
4. Beading				+	
5. Necklaces				+	
6. Bracelets					
a. Ornaments				+	
b. Utility	+				
VII. Coiffure					
1. Long hair				+	
a. Hanging loose			+		
b. Chignon		+			
2. Short hair			+		E.H.B. Ang.
3. Ornament				+	
a. Strips of skin				+	
b. Beads					
1) On strings				+	
2) On hair	+				
c. Brass head bands		+			
4. Hair halters	+				
VIII. Tattooing					+
1. Ornament		+			
2. Sign of distinction	+				
IX. Labrets formerly					W.
1. In past both					
a. Separated holes	West.				
b. Holes close together		+			
2. At present	+				
X. Nose ornaments				West.	
XI. Ear ornaments					West.
	Non-material Culture				
I. Names					
a. Men's	C.Y. S.S.				+
b. Women's		C.Y. S.S.			+

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
	Non-material Culture—*Continued*				
II. Leadership			+		Lab.
III. Shamanism					+
a. Physician					
1. Men patients			+		
2. Women patients				H.B.	+
b. Childbirth ceremonies and assistance				+	
c. Cure of barrenness	+				
d. Witch				+	
e. Assistant to angakok		+			
f. Taboo restrictions				+	
g. Amulets					
1. Worn by			+		
2. Prepared by				+	
IV. Story-telling	West.				+
a. Traditions				+	
b. Personal exploits			+		
V. Dancing					+
a. Pantomime					+
1. Chorus				+	
2. Drum accompaniment	+				
3. Imitate men			+		
4. Imitate women				+	
5. Disguised dancing					+
b. Ceremonial					+
1. Violent movements			+		
2. Stationary				+	
VI. Kashim	West.				
1. Clubhouse	+				
2. Scene of festivals					+
VII. Pastimes					+
1. Trials of strength	+				
2. Football					+
3. Tilting	+				
4. Cat's cradle				+	West.
5. Games of chance				Gr.	+
VIII. Songs					+
1. Nith songs					Gr.

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
	Non-material Culture—Continued				
VIII.—*Continued*					
2. Working					E.Gr.
3. Humming at work					+
4. Petting songs				+	
5. Composed by					+
IX. Sitting					
1. Legs crossed		+			
2. Legs straight	+				
3. European fashion	+				
	Miscellaneous				
I. Marriage					
1. Arranged by				+	
2. Live with parents of					+
3. Head of house			+		
4. Sexual freedom	+				
II. Death customs					
1. Property on grave					
a. Man's	+				
b. Woman's		+			
2. Pallbearer			+		
3. Burial clothes		+			
4. Body prepared					+
III. Rewards hereafter					
1. Death of violence	+				
2. In childbirth		+			
IV. Mourning observances					+
1. Enforced idleness					+
2. Fasting					+
3. Untidiness of hair				+	
4. Stuffing nostrils					
a. Right	+				
b. Left		+			
V. Old people neglected					+
VI. Trade					
1. With other tribes			+		
2. With Europeans					+
VII. Blood revenge	+				

	Men Only	Women Only	Prevailingly Men	Prevailingly Women	Both
	Miscellaneous—*Continued*				
VIII. Warfare	.....	.....	+	.....	Mac.
1. Participants	.....	.....	West.	.....	.....
2. Slaves taken	.....	West.	.....	.....	.....
IX. Use of mouth and teeth	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1. Dressing skins	.....	+	.....	.....	.....
2. Softening clothing	.....	+	.....	.....	.....
3. Tearing sinew thread	.....	+	.....	.....	.....
4. Extraction of blubber	.....	+	.....	.....	.....
5. Cleaning utensils	.....	+	.....	.....	.....
6. Washing children	.....	+	.....	.....	.....
7. Softening lines	C.E.	.....	.....	.....	.....
8. Untangling traces	Gr.	.....	.....	.....	.....
9. Towing seal	Gr.	.....	.....	.....	.....
10. Crushing heads of birds	P.	.....	.....	.....	.....

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